

i am Marti, Quam Mercurio.



The Hon^{ble} and learned Knight
S^r Walter Raleigh.
By Vaughan Sculp

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REMAINS

of

1387. a. b.

Sir *Walter Raleigh*;

viz.

Maxims of State.

Advise to his Son: his Sons advise to
his Father.

His Sceptick.

Observation concerning the causes of
the Magnificencie and Opulency of
Cities.

His Letters to divers persons of qua-
lity.

With

The Prerogative of Parliaments, be-
ing a Dispute between a Counsel-
lor of State and a Justice
of Peace.

LONDON,

Printed for *William Sheares Innier*,
in Westminster Hall. 1657.

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LONDON

Printed by W. Smith, 11, Abchurch Lane, London, E.C. 4.

MAXIMS OF STATE.

With Instructions to his SON,
and the SONS advice to
his aged FATHER.

Whereunto

Is added Observations
touching Trade and Com-
merce with the Hollander and o-
ther Nations, Proving that our
Sea and Land Commodities inrich
and strengthen other Countries a-
gainst our own.

By
SIR WALTER RALEIGH.

L O N D O N.

Printed for Will. Shears Junior at the
Blue Bible in Bedford Street in
Covent-garden. 1636,

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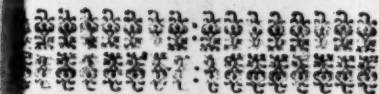
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Sea and Land Commodities in-
rich and strengthen other Coun-
treys against our own.*

FINIS.

1782



M A X I M S

OF

S T A T E.

OF

GOVERNMENT.



GOVERNMENT is of two sorts, 1. *Private*, of himself. *Sobriety*. Of his Family; called *Oconomy*.

2. *Publick*, of the Common-wealth, called *Policy*. A man must first Govern himself, ere he be fit to Govern a Family: And his Family, ere he be fit to bear the Government in the Common-wealth.

B

Of

Of Policie.

Policie is an Art of Government of Common-wealth, and some part of it according to that State, or form of Government, wherein it is settled for the publick good.

State, is the frame or set order of Common-wealth, or of the Governours that rule the same, especially of the chief and Sovereign Governour that commandeth the rest.

The State or Sovereignty consisted in five points.

1. Making or annulling of Laws.
2. Creating and disposing of Magistrates.
3. Power over life and death.
4. Making of War, or Peace.
5. Highest or last appeal.

Where these five are, either in one or in more, there is the State.

These five points of State, resteth in,

1. One Monarchie or Kingdom.
2. Some few chief men for virtue and wisdom, called an Aristocracie.
3. Many, called a Free-State, or Popular State.

These three sorts of Government have

have respect to the common good, and therefore are just, and Lawfull States.

These 3. degenerate into 3. other Governments viz.

1. Monarchie.	1. Tyrannie.
2. Aristocracie,	2. Oligarchie.
3. Popular Estate,	3. Commonwealth or Government of all the common and baser sort, and therefore called a Commonwealth by an usurped Nick-name.

These all respect their own, and not the publick good, and therefore are called Bastard Governments.

I

Monarchie.

A Monarchie, or Kingdom, is the Government of a State by one Head, or chief, tending to the common benefit of all.

Sir Walter Ral'eigh's
Of Policie.

P^olicie is an Art of Government of
Common-wealth, and some

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Maxims of State.

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Monarchie, or Kingdoms, are of three sorts touching the right, or possession of them, viz.

1. *Hereditary*, by descent, as the *English French*, &c.

2. *Elective*, by suffrage of the other *Orders*, or some of them, as the *Polonian*.

3. *Mixed*, or of both kinds, viz. by descent, yet not tied to the next blood, as the ancient *Jewish State*.

Monarchies are of two sorts touching their power, or Authority, viz.

1. *Intire*. Where the whole power of ordering all *State* matters, both peace and war, doth by law & custom appertain to the Prince, as in the *English Kingdom*, where the Prince hath power to make Laws League, & War To create Magistrates; to pardon life Of appeal, &c. Though to give a contentment to the other degrees, they have a suffrage in making Laws, yet ever subject to the Princes pleasure nor Negative will.

2. *Limited or restrained*, that hath no full power in all the points or matters of State, as the *Military King* that hath not the Sovereignty in time of peace, as the making of Laws, &c. But in War only, as the *Polonian Kings*.

II.

Aristocracy, or Senatorial State.

AN *Aristocracie* is the Government of a Common-wealth by some competent number of the better sort, preferred for wisdom and other virtues for the publick good.

Aristocracies are of three sorts, viz. Where the *Senators* are chosen, for *Virtue*, *Riches*, and the common Good, as the *Venetian*.

2. *Virtue*, and the publick good without respect of wealth, as sometimes the *Roman*; when some of the *Senators* were fetched from the *Temple*, and some from the *Schools*.

3. *Virtue* and wealth more respecting their private, than their publick good, which inclineth towards an *Oligarchie*, or the Government of the Richer or Nobler sort, as in *Rome* towards the end.

I I I.

Free-State, or Popular State.

THe *Popular State* is the Government of a *State* by the choise sort of people, tending to the publick good of all sorts; viz. wth due respect of the better, Nobler, and Richer sort

In every *First State*, some part of the Government is, or ought to be imparted to the people; As in a Kingdom, a voice or suffrage in making Laws; and somtimes also, in levying of Arms (if the charge be great, and the Prince forced to borrow help of his Subjects) the matter rightly may be propounded to a Parliament, that the tax may seem to have proceeded from themselves. So consultations, and some proceedings in Iudicial matters, may in part be referred to them. The reason, least seeing themselves to be in no number, nor of reckoning, they mislike the state, or kind of Government: And where the multitude is discontented, there must needs be many Enemies to the present *State*. For which cause, Tyrants,
(which

(which allow the people, no manner of dealing in State matters) are forced to bereave them of their wits and weapons, and all other means whereby they may resist, or amend themselves, as in *Russland, Turkey, &c.*

IV.

Tyrannie.

A *Tyrannie* is the swerving, or distorting of a *Monarchie*, or the Government of one, tending not to the publick good, but the private benefit of himself, & his followers. As in the *Russ & Turkish Government*, where the State and Wealth of other orders, are employed onely to the upholding of the greatness of the King or Imperour. This is the worst of all the *bastard States*. because it is the perverting of the best Regiment, to wit, of a *Monarchie*, which resembleth the Sovereign Government of God himself.

V.

Oligarchie, or the Government of a few.

A *N Oligarchie* is the swerving, or the corruption of an *Aristocracie*;

or the *Government* of some few, that are of the *Wealthier* or *Nobler* sort, without any respect of the publick good. The chief end of these *Governors*, is their own greatness and enriching. And therefore their manner is, to prepare fit means to uphold their *Estates*. This *State* is not wholly so bad, as the *Tyrannie*, and yet worse than the *Common-wealth*, because it respects the good of a few.

VI.

Common wealth.

A *Common-wealth* is the swerving or depravation of a *Free*, or popular *State*, or the Government of the whole multitude of the base and poorer sort, without respect of the other Orders.

These two *States*, to wit; The *Oligarchie*, and *Common-wealth*, are very adverse the one to the other, and have many bickerings between them. For that the Richer or Nobler sort, suppose a right or superiority to appertain unto them in every respect, because they are superiour, but in some respects onely, to wit, in Riches, Birth, Parentage, &c. On the other side, the *Common-people* suppose, there ought to be an equality in

in all other things, and some *State mat-*
ters; because they are equall with the
 Rich or Noble, touching their *Libertie*,
 whereas indeed neither the one nor the
 other are simply equall or superiour, as
 touching *Government* and fitness there-
 unto, because they are such, to wit, be-
 cause they are Rich, Noble, Free, &c.
 But because they are *Wise, Virtuous, Va-*
liant, &c. and so have fit parts to *Go-*
vern a State.

The severall *States* are sometimes
 mixed, and inter-wrought one with the
 other, yet ever so, as that the one hath
 the preheminent predomination over
 the other, as in the humours and com-
 plexions of the body. So in the *Roman*
State, the people had their *Plubiscita*,
 and gave the suffrage in the election of
 Magistrates: Yet the *Senate* (as the
State flood) for the most part swayed
 the *State*, and bare the chief rule. So
 in the *Venetian State*, the Duke seemeth
 to represent a *Monarch*, and the *Senate*
 to be his Councell: Yet the *Duke* hath
 no power in *State matters*, but is like a
 head set on by art, that beareth no
 brain. And so that *State* is *Senatoricall*
 or *Aristocraticall*.

B 5

Causes

Causes of States and Commonwealths in general.

Causes of States, or of Common- wealths are of 3. sorts, viz.	{	1. Founding,	{	1. Measure.
		or settling a		2. Parts,
		State where		and their
		to be confi- dered.		Qualities.
		2. Preserving a State.		
		3. Changing, and altering a State.		

Founding a State.

In founding a State } 1. Proportion.
are to be confi- }
dered 2. things. } 2. Parts.

Proportion, is a just measure or Me-
diocritie of the State, whereby it
is framed & kept in that Order, as
that neither it exceed nor be defective
in his kind, to wit, so that a Monarch be
not too Monarchical, nor strict, or abso-
lute, as the *Russe* Kings; nor *Aristocra-
tical*, that is over-mated or eclipsed
by the Nobilitie, as the *Scottish* King-
dom, but ever respective to the other
degrees. That *Aristocracie* be not too
magnificent nor injure to it self, but
com

communicate with the people some commodities of State or Government, as the *Venetians* and sometimes the *Romans* allowed the people to elect certain Magistrates out of themselves, to have a Tribune, to make *Placida*, &c. So their Free-State or Commonwealth that it be not over popular, viz. That it depress not too much the richer, wiser, nor learned sort; but admit them to offices with a Caution out of the rules and mysteries of that State. That they seek no alteration of the present State. The reason, because the moderate States in their several kinds (as all other things that observe the mean) are best framed for their continuance, because they give less cause of grudge, envy, and affecting the wealth, Honour, and Liberty, which they see in others that govern the State; and so are less subject to stir and commotions, and easiest kept in their present State wherein they are set.

Parts.

The parts of the State, or those Magistrates that bear place or sway in the publick Government.

Parts or partakers of Publick Government, are

1. Coun-

1. *Councelor Senate*, which consulteth of all matters pertaining to War and Peace, Magistrates, &c. in admitting of whom there ought to be a most special care, that they may be men expert in *matters of Politie*, because in their *Trade and Vocation*, as men use to chuse Pilots, and Masters of Ships, so as know the Art of *Navigation*, and Husband men, &c. And so the contrary.

2. *Magistrates and Officers*, which are to be executioners of that which is consulted, and found to be expedient for the *Common-wealth*, wherein are to be observed, the kinds of Magistrates, than they be such as fit that kind of *Government*; The time of their continuance, and the manner of their election or appointing, by whom, out of whom, and in what manner they are chosen.

3. *Judges*; To determine in *Civil and Criminal matters*, where are to be observed, out of whom they are to be chosen; what kinds are necessary, and the manner of *Judgement* and *Judicial proceeding*.

I. *Superiours*
which are to be
such & of that
kind as agree
with the State,
as *Consuls* for a
year, and not
perpetual *Dictatours* in a
Senatorie State,
Prators, & *Censors*, that over-
see manners &
orders of the
people.

For a King-
dom *Lieutenants*
of Shires, *Marshals*, *Masters*
of Horse, *Admirals*, &c.

Inferiour, as
conservatours of
Peace, *Constables*, &c.

Overseers of
youth, that take
care for their
education for
civil and war-
like exercise.

Clarks

1. *kinds*
of *Magi-*
strates, &c.

In
Magi-
strates
are to
be ob-
served.

1. *civil*.

| *Clarks* of the Market that provide for the quantity, and price of victual.

| *Ediles* for Buildings, Streets, Bounds.

| *Questours*, or *Treasurers*, to keep and dispende the publick Treasury.

| *Attuaries*, or *Recorders*, which keep the publick Record.

| *Goalers* to keep prisons and Prisoners.

| *Surveyors* of woods and fields, &c.

2. *Ec-*
clesiast.
cal. 1. As *Bishops* or *Pastours*, *Elders*, *Wardens*.

2. *Time* of *Magistrates*, whereof some are perpetual, some for a time, viz. for more years, a year, half a year, according to the necessity of the *Common-wealth*, and not perpetual; or at least not *Hereditary* in a *Kingdom*. Yearly in an *Aristocracie*, or half yearly

yearly in a Free-State.

2. Manner of choice, by whom and how to be chosen, where especially they are to be chosen by suffrage, and not by Lot.

Causes preserving a State, or Commonwealth.

In pre- serving States & things requi- red.	{	1. Myſteries, or Sophiſms	{	1. General to all States.
				2. Particu- lar for eve- ry ſeveral State.

{	2. Rules, or Actions.	{	1. General, for all States.
			2. Particular, for every State.

Mysteries, or Sophisms.

Mysteries, or Sophisms of State, are certain secret practises, either for the avoiding of danger, or averting such effects as tend to the preservation

vation of the present *State*, as it is set
or founded.

State Mysteries are of two sorts.

1. *Generall*: That pertain to all
States; as first, to provide by all means,
that the same degree, or part of the
Common-wealth, do not exceed both
in *Quantity* and *Quality*. In *Quantity*,
as that the number of the *Nobility*, or
of great persons, be not more, than the
State or *Common-wealth* can bear. In
Quality, as that none grow in wealth,
Liberty, Honours, &c. more than it
is meet for that degree; For as in
weights, the heavier weights bear
down the Scale: So in *Common-*
wealths, that part of degree that ex-
celleth the rest in *Quality* and *Quan-*
tity, overwayeth the rest after it, where-
of follow alterations, and conversions
of *state*. Secondly, to provide by all
means, that the middle sort of people
exceed both the extreames, (*viz.*) of
Nobility and *Gentry*, and the base rascal,
and beggarly sort. For this maketh the
State constant and firm, when both
the *Extreames* are tied together by a
middle sort, as it were with a band, as
for a conspiracy of the rich and beg-
garly sort together, it is not to be fear-
ed. To these two points, the *Particu-*
lar

lar rules in *Sophisms* of every *Commonwealth*, are to be applied.

2. *Particular*: That serve for preservation of every *Commonwealth*, in that form of *State* wherein it is settled, as in a Kingdom. That the *Nobility* may be accustomed to bear the *Governments* of the *Prince*, especially such as have their dwelling in remote places from the *Princes* eye, it is expedient to call them up at certain times to the *Princes Court*, under pretence of doing them honour, or being desirous to see, and enjoy their presence; and to have their children, especially their eldest, to be attendant upon the *Prince*, as of special favour towards them and theirs, that so they may be trained up in duty and obedience towards the *Prince*, and be as *Hollages* for the good behaviour, and faithfull dealing of their Parents, especially, if they be of any suspected note. To that end serves the *Persian* practise, in having a Band, or Train of the *Satrapa's* children, and other Nobles to attend the Court; which was well imitated by our Train of *Henchmen*, if they were of the Nobler sort. Again, sometimes to borrow small sums of his Subjects, and to pay them again, that he may after borrow greater

greater sums and never pay : So in an *Oligarchie*, least it decline to a *Popular State*, they deceive the people with this and the like *Sophisms*, (*viz.* They compel their own sort, to wit, the rich men, by great penalties, to frequent their Assemblies for choosing of Magistrates, for provision of Armour, warlike Exercises, making an Execution of Laws, &c. By that means seeming to bear a hard hand over the richer, but to suffer the poorer, and meaner sort to be absent, and to neglect those Assemblies under pretence, that they will not draw them from their business, and private earnings: Yet withall to cite thither some few of them, (*viz.*) so many as are easily over-matched by the richer sort, to make a shew, that they would have the people or poorer sort, partakers likewise of those matters, yet testifying those that come to their Assemblies, with the tediousnesse of consultations, greatnesse of Fines, if they should mis-do, to the end, to make them unwilling to come again, or to have to do with those Consultations, by which means, the richer sort do still, govern the State, with the peoples liking, and good contentment.

Axioms.

Axioms.

- Axioms* or *Rules* of pre-
serving the *State* are,
- 1. *General*, that serve for all *Comon-wealths*.
 - 2. *Particular*, that serve for every *several State*.

General Rules.

1. **T**He first and principal *Rule* of *Politie* to be observed in all *States*, is to profess, & practise, & maintain the true worship & Religion of Almighty God prescribed unto us in his word, which is the chief end of all *Government*. The *Axiom*, That God be obeyed simply without exception, though he command that which seemeth unreasonable, and absurd to *humane policy*; as in the *Jews Comon-wealth*: That all the men should repair yearly to one place to worship God four times, leaving none to defend their coast, though being beset with many *Enemies*. Not to sow the seventh year, but to suffer the ground to rest untill'd without respect or fear of famine, &c.

2. To

2. To avoid the causes of *Conversion*, whereby *states* are overthrown, that are set down in the Title of conversions; For that *Common wealth* (as naturall bodies) are preserved by avoiding that which hurteth the health and *State* thereof, and are so cured by contrary medicines.

3. To take heed, that no *Magistratie* be created or continued, contrarie to the Laws and policie of that *State*. As that in a *State*, there be not created a perpetual *Dictator*, as *Cæsar* in *Rome*. In a Kingdom, that there be no *Senate*, or *Convention* of equall power with the Prince in *State* matters, as in *Poland*.

4. To create such *Magistrats* as love the *State* as it is settled, and take heed of the contrarie practise, as to advance Popular persons in a Kingdom, or *Aristocracie*. And secondly, to advance such as have skill to discern what doth preserve, and what hurteth or altereth the present *State*.

5. To that end to have certain Officers to pry abroad, and to observe such as do not live and behave themselves in fit sort, agreeable to the present *State*, but desire rather to bee under some other form, or kind of *Government*.

6. To

6. To take heed that Magistracies be not sold for money, nor bribe in their Offices, which is especially to be observed in that *Common wealth*, which is governed by a few of the richer sort; For if the Magistrate gain nothing but his *Common fees*, the common sort, and such as want honour, take in good part that they be not preferred; and are glad rather that themselves are suffered to intend private business. But if the *Magistrate* buy and sell matters, the common people are doubly grieved, both because they are debar'd of those preferments, and of that gain they see to grow by them, which is the cause that the *German Oligarchies* continue so firm, for both they suffer the poorer sort to grow into wealth, and the richer sort are by that means freed, and secured from being under the poor.

7. To take heed that the *State*, as it is settled and maintained, be not over-strict, nor exceed in his kind; (*viz.*) That a Kingdom be not too Monarchical, nor a *Popular State* too Popular: For which cause it is good, that the Magistrates sometimes yield of his right touching honour, and behave themselves familiarly with those that are equall unto them in other parts, though in-

inferiour for place and office; And sometimes popularly with the common people, which is the cause that some *Common-wealths*, though they be very simply, and unskilfully set, yet continue firm, because the Magistrates behave themselves wisely, and with due respect towards the rest that are without honour; and therefore some kind of *Moderate Popularity* is to be used in every *Common-wealth*.

8. To take heed of small beginnings, and to meet with them even at the first, as well touching the breaking and altering of Laws, as of other rules which concern the continuance of every severall *State*. For the disease and alteration of a *Common-wealth*, doth not happen all at once, but grows by degrees, which every common wit cannot discern, but men expert in **POLICIE**.

9. To provide, that that part be ever the greater in number and power, which favours the *State* as now it stands. This is to be observed as a very Oracle in all *Common-wealths*.

10. To observe a mean in all the degrees, and to suffer no part to exceed, or decay overmuch. As first for pre-

ferments, to provide that they be rather small and short, than great and long; and if any be grown to overmuch greatness, to withdraw or diminish some part of his honour. Where these *Sophisms* are to be practised (*viz.*) to do it by parts and degrees; to do it by occasion, or colour of law, and not all at once. And if that way serve not, to advance some other, of whose virtue and faithfulness, we are fully assured, to as high a degree, or to a greater honour; and to be the friends and followers of him that excelleth, above that which is meet. As touching wealth, to provide, that those of the middle sort (as before was said) be more in number; and if any grow high, and over charged with wealth, to use the *Sophisms* of a Popular State, *viz.* to send him on Embassages, and Forreign Negotiations, or imploy him in some Office that hath great charges, and little honour, &c. To which end, the *Edileship* served in some Commonwealths.

11. To suppress the Factions, and quarrels of the Nobles, and to keep other that are yet free from joyning with them in their partakings and Factions.

12. To

12. To increase or remit the Common Taxes and Contributions; according to the wealth, or want of the People and *Common-wealth*. If the people be increased in Wealth, the Taxes and Subsidies may be increased. If they be poor, and their Wealth diminish, specially by dearth, want of Traffick, &c. to forbear Taxes and Impositions, or to take little. Otherwise grudge and discontentments must needs follow. The *Sophisms* that serve for Impositions, are these, and other of like sort. To pretend business of great charge, as War, building of Ships, making of Havens, Castles, Fortifications, &c. for the common defence; sometimes by Lotteries and like devises, wherein some part may be bestowed, the rest reserved for other expences; but Princely dealings needs no pretences.

13. To Provide that the *Discipline* & *Training* of youth of the better sort be such as agreeth with that *Common-wealth*: As that in a Kingdom, the sons of Noble men to be attendant at the Court, that they may be accustomed to obedience towards the Prince. In the *Senatory State*, that the sons of the *Senatours* be not idly, nor over-dained.

daintily brought up, but well instructed and trained up in *Learning, Tongues,* and *Warlike exercise* that they may be able to bear that place in the *Common-wealth*, which their Father held, and contrariwise, in a *Popular State*.

14. To take heed, least their *Sophisms*, or secret practises for the continuance and maintenance of that *State*, be not discovered; least by that means they refuse and disappoint themselves, but wisely used, and be with great *Secrecie*.

Particular Rules.

Rules and Axioms, for *Hereditary.*
preserving of a King- }
dom. } *Conquest.*

*Kingdoms Hereditary, are
preserved at home by
the ordering.*

1. **H**imself, viz. By the tempering
and moderation of the Princes
Power and Prerogative. For the less
and more temperate their *Power* and
State is the more firm, and stable is
their



their Kingdom and Government; because they seem to be further off from a Master like, and *Tyrannicall Empire*; and lesse unequall in condition to the next degree, to wit, the *Nobility*, and so lesse subject to grudge and envy.

2. *Nobility, &c.* By keeping that degree and due *proportion*, that neither they exceed in number more than the Realm, or *State* can bear, as the *Scottish* Kingdom, and sometime the *English*, when the Realm was overcharged with the number of *Dukes*, *Earls*, and other *Nobles*; whereby the *Authority* of the Prince was eclipsed, and the Realm troubled with their *Factions* and *Ambitions*. Nor that any one excel in Honour, power, or wealth, as that he resemble another King within the Kingdom, as the house of *Lancaster* within this Realm. To that end, not to load any with too much Honour or preferment, because it is hard even for the best, and worthiest men, to bear their greatnesse, and high Fortune temperately, as appeareth by infinit examples in all *States*. The *Sophisms* for preventing, or reforming this inconvenience, are to be used with great caution and wisdom. If any great

great person be to be abated, not do
deal with him by *calumniation* or *forged*
matter, and so to cut him off without
desert, especially if he be gracious
among the people, after the *Nachian-*
an P. l. c. e., which besides the injustice,
on occasion many times of greater
danger towards the Prince. Not to
withdraw their Honour all at once,
which maketh a desperate *discontent-*
ment in the party, and a commiseration
in the people, and so greater love,
if he be gracious for his virtue, and pu-
blick service. Not to banish him into
foreign Countries, where he may have
opportunity of practising with *Foreign*
nates, whereof great danger may en-
sue, as in the example of *Coriolanus*,
Henry the fourth, and such like. But
to use these, and the like *Sophisms*, viz.
to abate their greatnesse by degrees, as
David Josbs, *Justinian Bellisarius*, &c.
To advance some other men to as
great, or greater Honour, to shadow,
or over-mate the greatnesse of the
other. To draw from him by degrees
his friends, and followers by *prefer-*
ments, *rewards*, and other good and
lawfull means; especially, to be pro-
vided that these great men be not im-
ployed in great or powerfull affairs of

the *Common wealth*, whereby they may have more opportunity to sway the *State*.

3. *People*, viz. So to order and be- have himself, that he be loved, and re- verenced of the *People*. For that the Prince need not greatly fear home con- spiracies, or foreign Invasion, if he be firmly loved of his own people. The reason, for that the *Rebel* can neither hope for any forces for so great enter- prise, nor any refuge, being discovered & put to flight, if the multitude affect their Prince: But the common people being once offended, hath cause to fear every moving, both at home and abroad. This may be effected by the Prince, if he use means and art of get- ting the favour of the people, and avoid those things that breed hatred and contempt; viz. if he seem as a *Tutor*, or a *Father* to love the people and to protect them, if he maintain the peace of his Kingdom; For that no- thing is more popular, nor more plea- sing to the people, than is peace.

4. If he shew himself oftentimes graciously, yet with *State* and *Maj-* to his people, and receive complaints of his suppliants, and suc- like.

5. If he sit himself sometimes in open Courts, and place of Justice that he may seem to have a care of Justice among his people. If he bestow many benefits and graces upon that Citie, which he maketh the seat of his Empire, and so make it sure and faithful unto him, which is fit to be in the middle of his Kingdom, as the heart in the middle of the body, or the Sun in the middle of Heaven, both to divide himself more easily into all the parts of his Dominions; and least the furthest parts at one end move, whilst the Prince is in the other. If he go in progress many times to see his Provinces, especially, those that are remote.

6 If he gratifie his Courtiers and Attendants in that sort, and by such means, as that he may seem not to pleasure them with the hurt & injury of his people, as with *Minopolies*, and such like.

7 If he commit the handling of such things as procure envy, or seem grievous to his Ministers, but reserve those things which are gratefull, and well pleasing to himself, as the French Kings, who for that purpose, as may seem, have erected their Court at Paris

ris, which acquitteth the Prince from grudge and envy, both with the Nobles and the people.

8. If he borrows sometimes sums of money of his people, though he have no need, and pay the same justly without *d. salutation* of any part by his Exchequer, or other Officer.

9. If he avoid all such things as may breed *h. ire* or *contempt* of his person which may be done, if he shew himself not too *light*, *inconstant*, *hard*, *cruel*, *effeminate*, *f. arfull*, and *dastardly*, &c. But contrariwise *Religious*, *Grave*, *Fust*, *Valiant*, &c. Whereby appeareth the false doctrine of the *Machiavilian Politie*, with far the better means to keep the people in obedience, than love, and reverence of the people towards the Prince.

10. If the Prince be well furnished with Warlike provision, which is to be rumoured, and made known abroad: if it be known, that he is revered, and obeyed by his peoples at home.

11. If he provide so much as lieth in him, that his neighbour Kingdoms grow not over much in power and Dominion; which if it happen, he is to joyn speedily with other Princes, which
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are in like danger to abate that greatness, and to strengthen himself and the rest against it. An oversight of the Christian Princes towards the King of Spain.

12 If he get him Intelligencers by reward, or other means, to detect or hinder the designs of that Prince, with whom he hath differences, if any thing be intended against his state. Or at least have some of his own Lydging abroad about that Princes Court, under colour of Embassage, or some other pretence; which must be men of skill and Dexterity to serve for that turn.

13. To observe the Laws of his Country, and not to encounter them with his *Prerogative*, nor to use it at all where there is a Law, for that it maketh a secret and just grudge in the peoples hearts, especially if it tender to take from them *their comm dities*, and to bestow them upon other of his *COURTIERS* and *Ministers*.

14. To provide especially, That that part, which favoureth the State as it standeth, be more potent, than the other which favoureth it not or desireth a change.

15. To make speciall choise of good and sound men to bear the place of *Magistrates*, especially of such as assist the Prince of his *Counsels*, and *Polities*, and not to lean overmuch to his own advise, contrarie to the rule of *Ma biavel*, who teacheth, that a Prince can have no good counsel, except it be in himself; his reason, because if he use the counsel of some one, he is in danger to be over wrought, and supplanted by him; and if he counsel with more, then he shall be distracted with the differences in opinions. As if a Prince of great, or mean wisdom, could not take the Judgement of all his counsellours in any point of *Politie*, or of so many as he himself thinketh good, and to take it either by word, or in writing; and himself then in private peruse them all, and so after good and mature deliberation, make choise of the best, without any distraction or binding himself to the direction of one. For the Proverb is true, that two eyes see more than one; and therefore the advises, and Consultations of a *Senatory State*, is compared by some to a Feast, or dinner, where many contribute towards the shew, by which means they have more variety of dishes, and so better fare: and yet every man may make choice of
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that dish that serveth him best for his health and appetite.

16. The Prince himself is to sit sometimes in place of publick justice, and to give an experiment of his wisdom and equity, whereby great reverence and estimation is gotten, as in the example of *Salomon*, which may seem the reason, why our Kings of *England* had their Kings Bench in Place of publick Justice, after the manner of the ancient Kings that sate in the Gate; where for better performing of this Princely duty, some speciall causes may be selected, which may throughly be debated and considered upon by the Prince in Private, with the help and advice of his learned Councell, and so be decided publickly, as before is said, by the Prince himself; At least, the Prince is to take accompt of every Minister of publick Justice, that it may be known, that he hath a care of justice, and doing right to his people, which makes the Iusticers also to be more carefull in performing of their duties.

17. To be moderate in his Taxes, and impositions; and when need doth require to use the Subjects purse, to do it by Parliament, and with their con-

consents, making the cause apparent unto them, and shewing his unwillingness in charging them. Finally, to use it, that it may seem rather an offer from his Subjects, than an exaction by him.

18. To stop small beginnings; unto this end to compound the dissensions that rise amongst the Nobles, with caution, that such as are free be not drawn into parts, whereby many times the Prince is endangered, and the whole *Common-wealth* set in a combustion; as in the example of the *Barons War*, and the late Wars of *France*, which grew from a quarrel between the *Gujot Faction*, and the other Nobility.

19. To stir up the people, if they grow secure, and negligent of *Armour*, and other provision for the *Commonwealth*, by some rumour or fear of danger at home, to make more ready when occasion requireth. But this seldom to be used, least it be supposed a false Alarm, when there is need indeed.

20. To have speciall care, that his children, especially, the heir apparent, have such bringing up as is meet for a King, viz. in learning, specially of
mar-

matters pertaining to *State*, and in Martiall exercise, contrary to the practise of many Princes, who suffer their children to be brought up in pleasure, and to spend their time in hunting, &c. which by reason of their defects, afterwards is a cause of mis-government and alteration of *State*.

II.

Kingdoms new gotten, or purchased by force, are preserved by these means.

First, if they have been Subjects before to his Ancestours, or have the same tongue, manners, or fashions, as have his own Countrey, it is an easie matter to retain such Countries within their obedience, in case the Princes blood of the said Countrey be wholly extinct. For men of the same quality, tongue, and condition, do easily shole, and combine themselves together, so much the rather, if the people of that Countrey have served before, and were not accustomed to their own Liberty, wherein especially is to be observed.

served, that the Laws and customs of that purchased Countrey be not altered nor innovated, or at least it be done by little and little. So the *Burgundians* and *Aquitans* were annexed to *France*. The reason, because partly they have been accustomed to serve, and partly, for that they will not easily agree about any other to be their Prince, if the *Blond Royall* be once extinguished. As for the invasion of a forreign Countrey, whereunto the Prince hath no right, or whereof the right heir is living: It is not the part of a just Civil Prince, much less a Christian Prince to enforce such a countrey; and therefore, the *Machiavillian* practises in this case, to make sure work by extinguishing wholly the *Blond Royall*, is lewd and impertinent: The like is to be said of murthering the Natives, or the greatest part of them, to the end he may hold the rest in sure possession. A thing not onely against *Christian Religion*, but it is inhumane injustice, cruel, and barbarous.

2. The safest way is, (supposing a right) that some good part of the Natives be transplanted into some other place, and our Colonies, consisting of so many as shall be thought meet.

meet, be planted there in some part of the Province, *Castles, Forts, and Havens*, seized upon, and more provided in fit places, as the manner was of the *Babylonian Monarch*, which *Transplanted* 10. *Jews*: And of the *Romans* in *France*, *Tribes of the Germany, Britany, & other places*. The reason:

1. For that otherwise Forces of Horse and Foot, are to be maintained within the Province, which cannot be done without great charge.
2. For that the whole Province is troubled and grieved with removing and supplying the Army with victuals, carriages, &c.
3. For that Colonies are more sure and faithfull, than the rest.

As for the Natives that are removed from their former seats, they have no means to hurt, and the rest of the Natives being free from the inconvenience, and fearing that themselves may be so served if they attempt any thing rashly, are content to be quiet.

The *Turks* practise in *Asia*, where the chief grounds and dwellings are possessed by the Souldiers, whom

whom they call *Timariote*.

That the Prince have his seat and his residence, in his new purchase, especially, for a time, till things be well settled; especially if the *Province* be great and large, as the *Turks* in *Greece*: The reasons;

1. Because the presence of the Prince availeth much to keep things in order, and get the good will of his new Subjects
2. They conceive that they have refuge by the Princes presence, if they be oppressed by the Lieutenants, and inferiour Governours: Where it will be convenient for the winning the peoples hearts, that some example be made of punishing of such as have committed any violence or oppression.
3. Because being present, he seeth and heareth what is thought & attempted; and so may quickly give remedy to it, which being absent he cannot do, or not do in time.
4. If the Prince himself cannot be present to reside, then, to take heed that the charge of Governing, or new purchase

purchases be committed to such as be sure men, and of other meet quality, that depend wholly upon the Princes favour, and not to Natives, or other of their own Subjects, that are gracious for their *Nobility*, or *Virtue*; especially, if the *Province* be great, and somewhat far distant, which may soon seduce the unsettled affections of those new subjects, As for such *Governours*, as depend wholly upon the Princes favour, being not born, but created *Noble*, they will not so easily suffer themselves to be won from their duty, and in case they would revolt, yet they are not able to make any great strength, for that the people obey them but as instruments and ministers, to keep them in Subjection, and not for any ill will.

5. To have the children of the chief Noble men, and of greatest Authority, Hostages with them in safe keeping, the more the better: For that no bond is stronger, than that of nature, to contain the Parents and Allies in obedience, and they the rest.

6. To alter the laws but by degrees one after another, and to make other that are more behoovefull for the establishing

blishing of the present Govern-
ment.

6. To keep the people quiet and peaceable, and well affected so much as may be, that they may seem by being conquered, to have gotten a protectour, rather than a Tyrant; For the *Common-People*, if they enjoy peace, and be not distracted nor drawn from their businesse, nor exacted upon beyond measure, are easily contained under obedience; Yet notwithstanding, they are to be dis-used from the practise of Arms, and other Exercises which increase courage, and be weakened of *Armor*, that they have neither spirit, nor will to rebell.

7. If there be any faction in the Countrey, to take to him the defence of the better and stronger part, and to combine with it, as *Cæsar* in *France*.

8. To look well to the *Borders*, and confining *Provinces*, and if any rule there of great, or equall power to himself, to joyn league with some other *Borders*, tho' of lesse strength, to hinder the attempts (if any should be) by such neighbour Prince. For it happeneth often, that a Countrey intested by one neighbour Prince, calleth in

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another, of as great, or greater power, to assist and rescue it from the other that invadeth it; So the *Romans* were called into *Greece*, by the *Aetolians*; the *Scythians*, by the *Bytians*, the *Danes*, by the *Saxons*.

9. To leave their Titles and dignities to the Natives, but the command and Authority, wholly to his own.

10. Not to put much trust, nor to practise too often the *Sophism* of Policy, especially those that appertain to a Tyrannicall State, which are soon detected by men of Iudgement, and so bring discredit to the Prince, and his Policy among the wiser, and better sort of his Subjects, whereof must needs follow very ill effects.

The *Sophisms* of Tyrants, are rather to be known, than practised, (which are for the supporting of their Tyrannicall States,) by wise and good Princes, and are these, and such like as follow.

Rules Politick of Tyrants.

Rules practised by Tyrants are of 2. sorts, viz.

1. *Barbarous*, and *Professed*, which is pro-

proper to those that have got head, and have power sufficient of themselves, without others help, as in the *Turkish*, and *Russe* Government.

2. *Sophisticall*, and *Dissembled*; As in some States that are reputed for good and lawfull *Monarchies*, but inclining to *Tyrannies*, proper to those which are not yet settled, nor have power sufficient of themselves; but must use the power and help of others, and so are forced to be *Politick Sophisters*.

I.

*Sophisms of a Barbarous and
professed Tyranny.*

TO expell and banish out of his Countrey all honest means, where by his people may attain to learning, wisdom, valour and other virtues, that they might be fit for that estate, and servile condition. For that these two, learning, and martiall exercise, effect two things most dangerous to a Tyranny: viz *Wisdom*, and *Valour*. For that men of spirit and understanding, can hardly endure a *Servile State*.

To this end, to forbid learning of liberall Arts, and Martiall exercise; As in the *Russe Government* so *Julian the Apostata* dealt with the Christians. Contrariwise, to use his people to base occupations, and Mechanicall Arts, to keep them from idlenesse, and to put away from them all high thoughts, and manly conceits, and to give them a liberty of drinking drunk, and of other base and lewd conditions that they may be sorted, and so made unfit for great enterprises. So the *Egyptian Kings* dealt with the *Hebrews*; So the *Russe Emperour* with his *Russe* people: And *Charls* the fifth with the *Netherlanders*, when he purposed to enclose their priviledges, and to bring them under his absolute Government.

2. To make sure to him, and his State, his *Military* men by reward, liberty, and other means, especially. his Guard, or *Pratorian Band*; That being partakers of the spoil and benefit, they make like that State, And continue firm to it; as the *Turk*, his *Janizaries*; the *Russe*, his *Bojarens*, &c.

3. To unarm his people of weapons, money, and all means, whereby they may

may resist his power; And to that end, to have his set and ordinary exactions &c. Once in two, three, or four years, and sometimes yearly, as the *Turk* and *Russe*; who is wont to say, *that his people must be used as his flock of sheep, v'z. Their fleece taken from them, lest it overlade them, and grow too heavy; That they are like to his beard, that the more it was shaven the thicker it would grow.* And if there be any of extraordinary wealth; to borrow of them in the mean while, till the Tax come about, or upon some devised matter, to confiscate their goods, as the common practise is of the *Russe* and *Turk*.

4. To be still in Wars, to the end, his people may need a Captain; and that his Forces may be kept in practise, as the *Russe* doth yearly against the *Tartar*, *Polonian*, and *Sweden*, &c.

5. To cut off such as excell the rest in wealth, favour, or nobility; or be of a pregnant, or aspiring wit, and so are fearfull to a Tyrant; and to suffer none to hold Office, or any Honour, but onely of him; as the *Turk* his *Bishae*; and the *Russe*, his *Rozzies*.

6. To forbid Guilds, Brotherhoods, Feastings and other Assemblies among
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the people, that they have no means or opportunity to conspire, or confer together of publick matters, or to maintain love amongst themselves, which is very dangerous to a Tyrant, the *Russes* practise.

7. To have their Beagles, or Listener in every corner, & parts of the Realm; especially, in places that are more suspect, to learn what every man saith, or thinketh; that they may prevent all attempts, and take away such as mislike their *State*.

8. To make Schism, and Division among his Subjects, v. z. To set one Noble man against another, and one Rich man against another, that through Fact on & disagreement among themselves they may be weakened, and attempt nothing against him, and by this means entertaining whisperings, and complaints, he may know the secrets of both parts, and have matter against them both, when need requireth. So the *Russe* made the Faction of the *Zemsky*, and the *Oppressionie*.

9. To have strangers for his Guard, and to entertain *Parasites*, and other base and servile fellows, not too wise, and yet subtile, that will be ready for reward to do and execute what he com-

commandeth, though never so wicked and unjust. For that good men cannot flatter, and wise men cannot serve a Tyrant.

All these practises. and such like, may be contracted into one or two, viz. To bereave his subjects of will and power to do him hurt, or to alter the present State The use is Caution, not Imitation.

II.

*Sophisms of the Sophisticall,
or subtile Tyrant, to hold
up his State.*

1. TO make shew of a good King, by observing a temper and mediocrity in his Government, and whole course of life; To which end, it is necessary, That this subtile Tyrant, be a cunning Politician, or a Machiavilian at the least, and that he be taken so to be, for that it maketh him more to be feared and regarded, and is thought thereby: not unworthy for to Govern others.

2. To make shew not of severity, but of gravity, by seeming reverent,
and

and not terrible in his speech, and gesture, and habit, and other demeanour.

3. To pretend care of the Common-wealth; And to that end, to seem loath to exact Tributes, and other charges; and yet to make necessity of it, where none is: To that end to procure such War as can bring no danger toward his State, and that might easily be compounded, or some other chargeable business; and to continue it on, that he may continue his exaction and contribution so long as he list. And thereof to employ some in his publick service, the rest to hoord up in his Treasury, which is sometimes practised even by lawfull Princes, as *Edward* the fourth in his Wars against *France*, when have levied a great sum of money throughout his Realm, especially of the *Londons*, he went over Seas, and returned without anything doing.

4. Sometimes to give an account by open speech, and publick writing, of the expence of such Taxes and Impositions, as he hath received of his subjects, that he may seem to be a good husband, and frugal, and not a robbet of the Common-wealth.

5. To

5. To that end, to bestow some cost upon publick buildings, or some other work for the Common good, especially upon the Ports, Forts, and chief Cities of his Realm, that so he may seem a benefactour, & have a delight in the adorning of his Country, or doing some good for it.

6 To forbid feasting, and other meetings, which increase love, and give opportunity to confer together of publick matters, under pretence of sparing cost for better uses, To that end the Curfew Bell was first ordained by *William the Conquerour*, to give men warning to repair home at a certain hour.

7. To take heed that no one grow to be over-great, but rather, many equally great, that they may envy, and contend one with another; and if he resolve to weaken any of this sort, to do it warily and by degrees; If quite to wreck him, and to have his life, yet to give him a lawfull trial, after the manner of his Country; And if he proceed so far with any of great power and estimation, as to do him contumely, or disgrace, not to suffer him to escape, because contumely and disgrace, are things contrarie unto Honour,

uour, which great spirits do most desire, and so are moved rather to a revenge for their disgrace, than to any thankfulnesse, or acknowledging the Princes favour for their pardon or dismissal: True in *Athens*, but not in true *Christian Nobility*.

8. To unarm his people, and store up their weapons, under pretence of keeping them safe, and having them ready when service requireth. and then to arm with them such, and so many as he shall think meet, and to commit them to such as are sure men.

9. To make schism or division under hand among his Nobility, and betwixt the Nobility and the people, and to set one Rich man against another, that they combine not together, and that himself by hearing the griefs and complaints, may know the secrets of both parts, and so have matter against them both, when it listeth him to call them to an account.

10 To offer no man any contumely or wrong, specially, about womens matters, by attempting the chastity of their Wives or Daughters, which hath been the ruin of many Tyrants, and conversion of their States. As of Tar-

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quinius

quinius, by Brutus, Appius, by Virginius, Pisistratus, by Harmodius, Alexander Medices, Duke of Florence, Aloisus of Placentia, Rodericus, King of Spaine, &c.

11. To that end, to be moderate in his pleasures, or to use them closely that he be not seen; For that men sober, or watchfull, or such as seem so, are not lightly subject to contempt, or conspiracies of their own.

12. To reward such as achieve some great or commendable enterprise; or do any speciall action for the Common-wealth, in that manner as it may seem, they could not be better regarded, in case they lived in a Free-State.

13. All rewards and things gratefull, to come from himself, but all punishments, exactions, and things ungratefull, to come from his Officers, and publick Ministers; And when he hath effected what he would by them, if he see his people discontented withall, to make them a Sacrifice to pacifie his Subjects.

14. To pretend great care of Religion, and of serving God, (which hath been the manner of the wickedest Ty-

Tyrants) for that people do less fear any hurt from those, whom they do think Virtuous and Religious, nor attempt likely to do them hurt, for that they think that God protects them.

15. To have a strong and sure Guard of forreign Souldiers, and to bind them by good turns, that they having at least profit, may depend upon him and the present State; As *Caligula*, the *German* Guard, where the Nobility are many and mighty. The like is practised by Lawfull Kings, as by the *French* King.

16. To procure that other great persons be in the same fault, or case with them, that for that cause they be forced to defend the TYRANT, for their own safety.

17. To take part, and to joyn himself with the stronger part; if the Common people, and mean degree be the stronger, to joyn with them; if the Rich and Noble, to joyn with them. For so that part with his own strength, will be ever able to overmatch the other.

18. So to frame his manners and whole behaviour, as that he may see m,
D a if

if not perfectly good, yet tolerably evil, or somewhat good, somewhat bad.

These Rules of Hypocriticall Tyrants are to be known, that they may be avoided, and met withall, and not drawn into imitation.

Preservation of an Aristocracie.

Rules to preserve a *Senatory State*, are partly taken from the common Axioms, and partly from those that preserve a Kingdom.

Preservation of an } Sophisms.
Oligarchie, by } Rules.

1. IN Consultations and Assemblies about publick affairs, to order the matter, that all may have liberty to frequent their Common Assemblies, and Councils; But to impose a Fine upon the richer sort, if they omit that duty. On the other side, to pardon the people, if they absent themselves, and to bear with them under

der pretence, that they may the better intend their Occupations, and not be hindered in their trades, and earnings.

2. In election of Magistrates, and Officers: To suffer the poorer sort to vow, and abjure the bearing of Office, under colour of sparing them, or to enjoin some great charge, as incident to the Office, which the poor cannot bear. But to impose some great Fine upon those that be rich, if they refuse to bear Office, being Elect unto it.

3. In judicall matters: In like manner to order, that the people may be absent from publick Trials, under pretence of following their businesse. But the Richer to be present, and to compel them by Fines, to frequent the Court.

4. In Warlike exercise and Arms: That the poor be not forced to have Armor, Horse, &c. under pretence of sparing their cost, nor to be drawn from their trades by Martiall exercises; but to compel the Richer sort to keep their proportion of Armor, Horse, &c. by excessive Fines, and to exercise themselves in War-like matters, &c.

5. To

5. To have special care of instructing their children in liberal Arts, Policy, and warlike exercise, and to observe good order and discipline. For as *Popular States* are preserved by the frequency, and Liberty of the people, so this Government of the Richer, is preserved by discipline, and good order of *Governours*.

6. To provide good store of warlike furniture, especially of *Horse & Horsemens*, and of *Armed men*, viz. Pike, &c. which are proper to the Gentry, as *shot*, and light furniture are for a *Popular Company*.

7. To put in practise some points of a *Popular State*; viz. To lade no one man with too much preferment; To make yearly or half years *Magistrates*, &c. For that the people are pleased with such things, and they are better secured by this means from the rule of one. And if any grow to too much greatness, to abate him by the *Sophisms* fit for this State.

8. To comitt the Offices and Magistracies, to those that are best able to bear the greatest charges for publick matters, which both tendeth to the conservation of this State, and pleaseth the people, for that they reap some

relief, and benefit by it.

9. To the same end, To contract marriages among themselves; the rich with the rich, &c.

10. In some things which concern not the *Points*, and *matters of State*, as Electing Magistrates, Making Laws, &c. to give an equality, or sometimes a preferment to the Common People, and not to do, as in some *Oligarchies* they were wont; viz. To swear against the People, to suppress and bridle them; but rather contrary, To minister an Oath at their admission, *That they shall do no wrong to any of the People*; and if any of the richer offer wrong to any of the *Commons*, to shew some example of severe punishment.

For other *Axioms* that preserve this State, they are to be borrowed from those other rules that tend to the preserving of a *Popular*, and *Tyrannicall State*; for the strict kind of *Oligarchie* is kin to a *Tyranny*.

Preservation of } *Sophisms.*
 a popular State; } *Rules or Axioms.*

1. **I**N publick Assemblies and Consultations about matters of State, creating of Magistrates, publick Justice, & Exercise of Arms, to practise the contrary to the former kind of Government, to wit, an *Oligarchie*. For in Popular States, the Commons and meaner sort are to be drawn to those Assemblies, Magistrates, Offices, Warlike Exercise, &c. By mulcts and rewards, and the richer sort are to be spared, and not to be forced by fine, or otherwise, to frequent these Exercises.

2. To make shew of honouring and reverencing the richer men, and not to swear against them, as the manner hath been in some Popular State; but rather to prefer them in all other matters, that concern not the State and publick Government.

3. To elect Magistrates from among the Commons by Lot, or Balloting, and not to choose any for their wealths sake.

4. To take heed, that no man bear office twice, except it be Military, where the pay, & salary, &c. is to be reserved in their

their own hands, to be disposed of by a Common Council, &c. And to see that no man be too highly preferred.

5. That no Magistracy be perpetual, but as short as may be, to wit, for a year, half a year, &c.

6. To compel Magistrates, when their time expireth, to give an account of their behaviour and government, and that publickly before the Commons.

7. To have publick Salaries and allowance of their Magistrates, Judges, &c. And yearly dividends for the common people, and such as have most need among them.

8. To make Judges of all matters out of all sorts, so they have some aptness to perform that duty.

9. To provide that publick Judgements and Trials be not frequent; and to that end to inflict great Fines and other punishments upon Pettifoggers and Dilators, as the law of requital, &c. Because for the most part the richer and nobler, and not the Commons are indited and accused in this Commonwealth, which causeth the rich to conspire against the State; whereby many times the popular State is turned into an *Oligarchie*, or some other Govern-

ment. Hereto tendeth that Art of Civil Law, made against Accusers and Calumniatours: *Ad Senatus-consultum Turpilianum*, l. 1. *de Calumniatoribus*.

10. In such free States as are popular, and have no revenue, to provide that publick Assemblies be not after; because they want salary for Pleaders and Oratours; And if they be rich; yet to be wary, that all the revenue be not divided amongst the Commons. For, that this distribution of the Common revenue among the multitude, is like a purse or barrel without a bottom. But to provide, that a sufficient part of the revenue be stored up for the publick affairs.

11. If the number of the poor encrease too much in this kind of State, to send some abroad out of the Cities into the next Countrey places, and to provide above all, that none do live idely, but be set to their trades. To this end, to provide that the richer men place in their Farms and Coppie-holds, such decayed Citizens

12. To be well advised what is good for this State, and not to suppose that to be fit for a popular State, that seemeth most popular; but that which is best for the continuance thereof: And

to that end, not to lay into the Exchequer or Common Treasury, such goods as are confiscate, but to store them up as holy and consecrate things, which except it be practised, confiscations, & fines of the Common people would be frequent, and so this State would decay by weakening the people.

Conversion of States in general.

Conversion of a State, is the declining of the Common wealth either to some other form of Government, or to his full and last period appointed by God.

Causes of conversions of States are of two sorts: General and Particular.

General, (viz.) 1. Want of Religion: viz. of the true knowledge and worship of God, prescribed in his word; and notable sins that proceed from thence in Prince and people, as in the examples of Saul, Hzziah, the Jewish State; the four Monarchies, and all other.

2. Want

2. Want of wisdom and good Council to keep the State, the Prince, Nobles, and people in good temper, and due proportion, according to their several order and degrees.

3. Want of Iustice either in administration (as ill Laws, or ill Magistrates) or in the execution, as rewards not given where they should be, or there bestowed where they should not be, or punishments not inflicted where they should be

4. Want of power and sufficiency to maintain and defend it self, viz. Of provision, as Armor, Money, Captains, Souldiers, &c. Execution, when the means or provision is not used, or ill used.

5. *Particular*: To be noted and collected out of the contraries of those rules, that are prescribed for the preservation of the Common-wealth.

Particular causes of Conversion of States, are of two sorts.

1. **F**oreign: By the over-greatness of invasion of some forreign Kingdom or other State of meaner power,

power, having a part within our own, which are to be prevented by the providence of the chief, and rules of policy for the preserving of every State: This falleth out very seldom for the great difficulty to overthrow a forreign State.

2. *Dome-
stic.* } Sedition or open violence
by the stronger part.
(Alteration without violence.

Sedition.

*S*edition is a power of inferiours opposing it self with force of Armes against the superiour power, *Quasi dissidens.*

*Causes of Sedition are of
two sorts.*

<p>1. General</p>	<p>Liberty. Riches.</p>	<p>When they, that are of equal qualitie in a Commonwealth, or do take themselves so to be, are not regarded equally in all, or in any of these three. or, when they are so</p>
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Honour.

so unequal in quality, or take themselves so to be, are regarded but equally, or with less respect than those that be of less defect in these three things, or in any of them.

1. **I**N the Chief: Couetousness or oppression, by the Magistrate or higher Power, (*viz.*) when the Magistrates, especially the Chief, encrease his substance & revenue beyond measure, either with the publick or (private calamitie, whereby the Governours grow to quarrel among themselves as in *Olygarchies*) or the other degrees conspire together, and make quarrel against the Chief, as in Kingdoms: The examples of *as Tyler Jack Straw, &c.*

2. In the Chief: Injury, when great Spirits, and of great power, are greatly wronged & dishonoured, or take themselves so to be, as *Coriolanus, Cyrus minor, Earl of warwick*. In which cases the best way is to decide the wrong.

3. Preferment, or want of preferment; wherein some have over-much, and

and so wax proud and aspire higher, or have more or lesse, than they deserve, as they suppose, and so in envy and disdain, seek Innovat. on by open faction, so *Cesar*, &c.

4. Some great necessity or calamity; So *Xerxes* after the foil of his great Army. And *Senacherib* after the losse of 185. in one night.

1. **E**Nvy, when the chief exceed the mediocrity before mentioned, and so provoketh the Nobility, and other degrees, to conspire against him; as *Bruins Cassius*, &c. against *Cesar*.

2. **F**ear, viz. Of danger when one or more dispatch the Prince by secret practice or force, to prevent his own danger, as *Artabanus* did *Xerxes*.

2.
Particular.

2. Lust or Lechery, as *Tarquinius Superbus*, by *Brutus*; *Pisistrattida*, by *Armodius*; *Appius* by *Virginii*.

Chief.

4. Contempt, For vile quality & base behaviour, as *Sardanapalus* by *Artaces*, *Dionysius* the younger by *Dion*.

5. Cen-

Other degrees.

5. *Contumely*; when some great disgrace is done to some of great Spirit, who standeth upon his honour and reputation, as *Caligula* by *Chereas*.

Other degrees.

6. *Hore of Advancement*, or some great profit, as *Mithridates*, *Anaharjanes*

Alteration without violence.

CAuses of alteration without violence are; 1. *Excess* of the State; when by degrees the State groweth from that temper and mediocrity wherein it was, or should have been settled, and exceedeth in power, riches, and absoluteness in his kind, by the ambition & covetousness of the chiefe immoderate taxes, and impositions, &c. applying all to his own benefit, without respect of other degrees & so in the end changeth it self into another State or form of Government, as a Kingdom into a Tyrannie, an *Oligarchy* into an *Aristocracy*.

2. *Excess*, of some one or more in the Common-wealth; viz. When some one or more in a Common-wealth grow

grow to an excellency or excess above the rest, either in honour, wealth, or virtue; and so by permission and popular favour, are advanced to the Sovereignty: By which means, popular States grow into *Oligarchies*; and *Oligarchies* and *Aristocracies* into *Monarchies*. For which cause the *Athenians* and some other free States, made their Laws of *Ostracismos*, to banish any for a time that should excell, though it were in virtue, to prevent the alteration of their State; Which because it is an unjust Law, 'tis better to take heed as the beginning to prevent the means, that none should grow to that height and excellency, than to use so sharp and unjust a remedy.

FINIS.



A METHOD,

How to make use of the
Book before, in the
reading of the
Storie.



DAVID being seventy
years of age, was of
wisdom, Memory,
&c. sufficient to govern
his Kingdom; 1. Reg.
Cap. 1.

Old age is not ever unfit
for publick Government.

DAVID being of great years, and
so having a cold, dry, and impotent
body, married with Abishag, a fair maid,
of the best complexion through the whole
Realm, to revive his body and prolong
his life, 1. Reg. Chap. 1. vers. 3.

Ex-

Example of the like practise in Charles the Fifth.

DAVID being old and impotent of bodie, by the advise of his Nobles and Physicians, married a young maid called Abishag, to warm and preserve his old bodie.

Observation.

WHether David did well in marrying a maid? and whether it be lawfull for an old decayed and impotent man, to marrie a young woman; or on the other side, for an old, worn, and decrepite woman, to marrie a young and lustie man.

For the Affirmative.

AR.G. The end of marriage is Society and mutual comfort; but there may be Societie and mutual comfort in a marriage betwixt an old, and young partie. Ergo 'tis Lawful.

Ans. Societie and comfort is a cause & effect of marriage; but none of the principal

pal ends of marriage: which are:

1. Procreation of children, and so the continuance of mankind.
2. The avoiding of Fornication.

As for comfort and societie they may be betwixt man and man, woman and woman, where no marriage is, and therefore no proper ends of marriage.

The Negative,

AR G. 1. That conjunction, which hath no respect to the right and proper ends, for which marriage was ordained by God, is no lawfull marriage. But the conjunction betwixt an old impotent, and young partie hath no respect to the right end, for which marriage was ordained by God. Therefore it is no lawfull marriage.

2. No contract, wherein the partie contracting, bindeth himself to an impossible condition, or to do that which he cannot do, is good or lawfull. But the contract of marriage by an impotent person with a young partie, bindeth him to an impossible condition to do that which he cannot do, viz. to perform the duties of Marriage; Therefore it is unlawfull,
For

For the same cause, the civil Law determineth a nullity in these marriages, except the woman know before the infirmity of the man, in which case she can have no wrong, being a thing done with her own knowledge and consent, because Volenti non fit injuria: — In legem Iulian. de adulteriis leg. Si Uxor, &c.

It provideth further, for the more certainty of the infirmity, That three years be expired before the dissolution of the marriage, because that men that have been infirm at the first, by reason of sickness, or some other accident, afterwards proved to be sufficient: De repudiis leg. in causis.

Defence for David, in marrying Abishag.

IT was rather a Medicine, than a marriage, without any evil, or disordered affection.

2. It was by the perswasion of his Nobles, and Physicians.

3. It was for the publick good, to prolong the life of a worthy Prince.

4. It was with the knowledge and consent of the young maid, who was made

acquainted with the Kings infirmity, and to what end she was married unto him; who if she did it for the common good, and for duties sake, having withall the gift of continency, she is to be commended; if for ambition, or some vain respect, it is her own, and not Davids fault.

Politicall Nobilitie.

Adonijah aspiring to the Kingdom.

First, took the advantage of Davids affection and kinnesse towards him, and make him secure of any ill dealing.

Secondly, of his age and infirmities, disabling his Father as unfit for Government.

Thirdly, blaz'd his title, and Right to the Crown.

Fourthly, got him Chariots, Horse-men, and Foot men, and a guard to make shew of State.

Fifthly, being a comly, and goodly Person, made a popular shew of himself, and his qualities.

Sint-

Sixtly, joyned to himself in Faction Joab, the Generall of the Army, who was in displeasure for murdering of Abner, and Amaza, and feared that David would supply Benajah in his place, and so was discontented. And Abiather the high Priest, that was likewise discontented with David, for the preferment of Zadok.

Seventhly, had meetings with them, and other his confederates under pretence of a vow, and offering at the Fountain of Raguel, in the confines of Judea.

Eighthly, made a shew of Religion by Sacrificing, &c.

Ninthly, made himself familiar with the Nobles and people, and entertained them with feasting.

Tenthly, drew into his part the chief Officers of the Court, and Servants to the King, by rewards, Familiarity, &c.

Eleventhly, disgraced and abased the Competitor, and such as he knew would take part with him, and consecrate his ambition, and purpose from them.

Twelfthly had Jonathan a Favourite of the Court, and near about the King to give him intelligence, if any thing were discovered, and moved at the Court, whilest

whilest himself was in hand about his practise.

OBSERVATIONS.

Ways of such as aspire to the Kingdom, and marks to discern them.

First, they wind into the Princes favour by service, officiousnesse, flatterie, &c. to plant him in a good opinion of their loyalty and faithfulness, thereby to make him secure of their practises.

2. They take advantage of the Princes infirmities, age, impotencie, negligence, sex, &c. And work upon that by disabling the Prince, and secret detracting of his State, and Government.

3. They blaze their Title, and claim to the Crown, (if they have any with their friends and favourites.

4. They provide them in secret of extraordinary forces, and furniture for the wars, make much of good Souldiers, and have a pretence (if it be espied) of some other end, as for the Kings honour, or service, and to be in readinesse against foreign enemies, &c.

E

5. They

5. They make open shew of their best qualities, and comelinesse of their person (which though it be vain as a dum shew, it is very effectuall to win the liking of the popular sort, which according to the rule of the election of Kings, in the Bees Common wealsh; think that Forma est digna imperare) Activitie, Nobilitie, Ancestrie, &c.

6. To have their blazers abroad to see out their virtues, and to prepare their friends in every Province.

7. To draw into their party, and make sure unto them of the chief Peers, and men of best quality, such as are mightiest and most gracious with the souldiers, and the Militarie men, and most subtile and politick, especially such as be ambitious and discontent with the State.

8. To have meetings for conference under some pretence of some ordinari matter in some convenient place, not too near, nor too far off but where friends may best resort and assemble unto them without suspicion.

9. To take up a shew, and pretence of Religion more than before, and beyond the practise of their former life.

10. They use popular courtesie (which in a great person is very effectuall) feasting, liberality, gaming, &c.

11. To be ever liberal, & win to them by gifts, familiaritie, &c. the chief Officers of the Court, and Governours of State.

12. To have some near about the Prince, to keep them in credit, and common suspicion, if any arise.

13. To disgrace such as they know to be sure and faithfull to the Prince, & present State, or to the competitor, and to bring them into contempt by slander, detraction, and all means they can, and to conceal the designs from them, lest they be discovered before they be too ripe.

14. To have some spie near about the Prince, to advertise them if any inckling suspicion arise, whilest themselves are practising.

Note the practises of Absolom, 2 Sam.

16. And of Cyrus minor in Xenophon; Περὶ ἀραβιστῶν. cap. 1.

Politicall Prince.

David being a most worthy and excellent Prince for wisdom, valour, religion,

and justice, and so highly deserving of the Com. mon-wealth, yet grown into age, grew withall into contempt, & had many both of his Nobles, & common people, that fell from him; first with *Abalom*, then with *Adoniah*, who affected the Kingdom, and rebelled against him: For remedie whereof, he stirred up himself to publick actions, which might shew his vigour & sufficiencie to manage the affairs of his Kingdom.

1. **A**fter the victorie against *Abalom*, he forced himself to forbear mourning, and shewed himself to his discontented Army, when all were like to fall from him, for his unreasonable sorrow and lamentation for his Son.

2. A

1. After the victory, he caused a general convention to be assembled of the whole Nation, to bring him home with honour to Jerusalem, which was a renewing, and re-establishing of him, 2 Sam. 19. 12.

3. He gave an experiment of his power and authority, by deposing a person of great authority and estimation, to wit Iobab, General Captain of the Armie, and advancing Amasa to his place.

4. He sent kind messages to Jerusalem, and to other chief and head towns, and special men of Iudea, his contributors, putting them of their alliance with him with these words That they were of his own flesh and blood, with protestation of his special love and affection towards them, to provide them with the like kindness and affection towards him.

5. He assembled a Parliament of his whole Realm, and took occasion upon the designing of his successor, to comment unto them the succession of his house, and the continuance and maintenance of Gods true worship and religion then established, and gave a grave and publick charge to his Successor now designed, touching the manner of his government, and maintaining of religion, 1. Chron. 12. 13.

6. He showed his bountie and magni-

8 Sir Walter Raleigh's Maxims.

cence in congesting matter for building of the Temple, as gold, silver, brasse, &c. And caused it to be published and made known to the Parliament and whole Nation, 1. Chron. 22. 13.

7. He revived the Church Government, and set it in a right order, assigning to every Church Officer his place and function.

8. He suppressed the faction of Adonijah, and ordained Solomon his Successor, 1 Kings 1. 21. By these means he retained his Majestic and Authority in his old age, as appeareth by the effect; for that being bedrid, he suppressed the faction of Adonijah, (which was grown mighty, and was set on foot) with his bare commandment, and signification of his pleasure, and so he died in peace.

FINIS.

SIR
WALTER RALEIGH'S
INSTRVCTIONS
to his
S O N N E:
and to Posteritie.

Corrected, & enlarged according
to the Authours own Copie.



LONDON,
Printed for W. shears Juniors
and are to be sold at the
Blue Bible in Covent-
Garder. 1656.



SIR

Walter Raleigh,

TO

His SON.

CHAP. I.

*Virtuous persons to be made
choice of for friends.*

THERE is nothing more
becomming any wise
man, than to make
choice of friends, for
by them thou shalt
be judged what thou art: let
them therefore be wise and vir-
tuous, and none of those that follow
thee for gain; but make election ra-
ther

the of thy betters, than thy Inferiours,
shunning always such as are poore and
needy: for if thou givest twenty gifts,
and refuse to do the like but once, all
that thou hast done will be lost, and
such men will become thy mortal ene-
mies: Take also especial care, that
thou never trust any friend or servant,
with any matter that may endanger
thine estate; for so shalt thou make
thy self a bond-slave to him that thou
trustest, and leave thy self always to
his mercy: And be sure of this, thou
shalt never find a friend in thy young
years, whose conditions and qualities
will please thee after thou comest to
more discretion and judgement; and
then all thou givest is lost, and all
wherein thou shalt trust such a one,
will be discovered. Such therefore as
are thy interiours, will follow thee but
to eat thee out, and when thou lea-
vest to feed them, they will hate thee;
and such kind of men, if thou preserve
thy estate, will always be had: And if
thy friends be of better quality than
thy self, thou mayest be sure of two
things: the first, That they will be
more carefull to keep thy counsel, be-
cause they have more to lose then thou
hast: the second, They will esteem
thee

thee for thy self, and not for that which thou doest possesse; but if thou be subject to any great vanity or ill (from which I hope God will blesse thee) then therein trust no man; for every mans folly ought to be his greatest secret. And although I perswade thee to associate thy self with thy betters, or at least with thy Peers, yet remember always that thou venter not thy estate with any of those great ones, that shall attempt unlawfull things, for such men labour for themselves, and not for thee; thou shalt be sure to part with them in the danger, but not in the honour; and to venture a sure estate in present, in hope of a better in future, is meer madnesse: And great men forget such as have done them service, when they have obtained what they would, and will rather hate thee for saying thou hast been a mean of their advancement, than acknowledge it.

I could give thee a thousand examples, and I my self know it, and have tasted it in all the course of my life; when thou shalt read and observe the Stories of all Nations, thou shalt find innumerable examples of the like: Let thy love therefore be to the best,
so

so long as they do well ; but take heed that thou love God, thy Countrey, thy Prince, and thine own estate, before all others : for the fancies of men change , and he that loves to day, hateth to morrow ; but let reason be thy School-mistresse, which shall ever guide thee aright.

C H A P. II.

*Great care to be had in the
choosing of a Wife.*

THe next and greatest care ought to be in the choice of a Wife , and the onely danger therein , is beauty , by which all men in all ages , wise and foolish, have been betrayed. And though I know it vain to use reasons or arguments, to dissuade thee from being captivated therewith , there being few or none, that ever resisted that Witchery ; yet I cannot omit to warn thee, as of other things, which may be thy ruin and destruction. For the present time, it is true, that every man prefers his fantasie in that appetite, before all other worldly desires, leaving
f the

thee for thy self, and not for that which thou doest possesse; but if thou be subject to any great vanity or ill (from which I hope God will blesse thee) then therein trust no man; for every mans folly ought to be his greatest secret. And although I perswade thee to associate thy self with thy betters, or at least with thy Peers, yet remember always that thou venter not thy estate with any of those great ones, that shall attempt unlawfull things, for such men labour for themselves, and not for thee; thou shalt be sure to part with them in the danger, but not in the honour; and to venture a sure estate in present, in hope of a better in future, is meer madnesse: And great men forget such as have done them service, when they have obtained what they would, and will rather hate thee for saying thou hast been a mean of their advancement, than acknowledge it.

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THe next and greatest care ought to be in the choice of a Wife , and the onely danger therein , is beauty , by which all men in all ages , wise and foolish, have been betrayed. And though I know it vain to use reasons or arguments, to dissuade thee from being captivated therewith , there being few or none, that ever resisted that Witchery ; yet I cannot omit to warn thee, as of other things, which may be thy ruin and destruction. For the present time, it is true, that every man prefers his fantasie in that appetite, before all other worldly desires, leaving
f the

the care of honour, credit, and safety in respect thereof; But remember, that though these affections do not last, yet the bond of Marriage dureth to the end of thy life; and therefore better to be borne withall in a Mistress, than in a Wife, for when thy humour shall change, thou art yet free to chuse again (if thou give thy self that vain liberty.) Remember secondly, that if thou marry for Beauty, thou bindest thy self for all thy life for that, which perchance will neither last nor please thee one year; and when thou hast it, it will be to thee of no price at all, for the degree dieth when it is attained, & the affection perisheth, when it is satisfied. Remember, when thou wert a sucking Child, that then thou didst love thy Nurse, and that thou wert fond of her, after a while thou didst love thy Drie-nurse, and didst forget the other, after that thou didst also despise her; so will it be with thee in thy liking in elder years; and therefore, though thou canst not forbear to love, yet forbear to link, and after a while thou shalt find an alteration in thy self, & see another far more pleasing than the first, second, or third Love: yet I wish thee above all the rest, have a care thou dost

dost not marry an uncomely Woman for any respect; for comelinesse in Children is riches, if nothing else be left them. And if thou have care for thy races of horses, and other beasts, value the shape and comelinesse of thy Children, before alliances or riches; have care therefore of both together, for if thou have a fair Wife, and a poor one, if thine own estate be not great, assure thy self that Love abideth not with want; for she is thy companion of plenty and honour, for I never yet knew a poor Woman exceeding fair, that was not made dishonest by one or other in the end. This *Bathsaba* taught her Son *Salomon*; *Favour is deceitfull, and Beauty is vanitie*; she saith further, *That a wise woman ove seeth the ways of her Household, and eateth not the bread of idlenesse*.

Have therefore ever more care, that thou be beloved of thy wife, rather than thy self belotted on her; and thou shalt judge of her love by these two observations: first, If thou perceive she have care of thy estate, and exercise her self therein; the other, If she study to please thee, and be sweet unto thee in conversation, without thy instruction, for Love needs no teach
ing

ing, nor precept. On the other side, be not sower or siter to thy wife, for cruelty engendereth no other thing than hatred: Let her have equall part of thy Estate whilest thou livest, if thou find her sparing and honest; but what thou givest after thy death, remember that thou givest it to a stranger, and most times to an enemy, for he that shall marry thy wife, will despise thee, thy memory, and thine, and shall possesse the quiet of thy labours, the fruit which thou hast planted, enjoy thy love, and spend with joy and ease what thou hast spared, and gotten with care and travel: Yet always remember that thou leave not thy wife to be a shame unto thee after thou art dead, but that she may live according to thy estate; especially, if thou hast few Children, and them provided for. But howsoever it be, or whatsoever thou find, leave thy wife no more than of necessity thou must, but onely during her widowhood; for if she love again, let her not enjoy her second love in the same bed wherein she loved thee, nor flee to future pleasures with those feathers which death hath pulled from thy wings; but leave thy estate to thy house and children, in which thou livest up-

on

on earth whilest it lasteth. To conclude, Wives were ordained to continue the generation of men, not to transerre them, and diminish them, either in continuance or ability; and therefore thy house and estate, which liueth in thy son, and not in thy wife, is to be preferred. Let thy time of marriage be in thy young and strong years; for believe it, ever the young wife betrayeth the old husband, and she that had thee not in thy flower, will despise thee in thy fall, and thou shalt be unto her but a captivity and sorrow. Thy best time will be towards thirti, for as the younger times are unfit, either to chule or to govern a wife and family; so if thou stay long, thou shalt hardly see the education of thy Children, which being left to strangers, are in effect lost, and better were it to be unborn, than ill bred; for thereby thy posterity shall either perish, or remain a shame to thy name and family. Furthermore, if it be late ere thou take a wife, thou shalt spend the prime and summer of thy life with Harlots, destroy thy health, impoverish thy estate, and endanger thy life; and be sure of this, that how many Mistresses soever thou hast, so many enemies thou shalt pur-

purchase to thy self; for there never was any such affection, which ended not in hatred or disdain. Remember the saying of Solomon, *There is a way which seemeth right to a man, but the issues thereof are the wages of death*; for howsoever a lewd woman please thee for a time, thou wilt hate her in the end, and she will study to destroy thee. If thou canst not abstain from them in thy vain and unbridled times, yet remember that thou sowest on the sands, & dost mingle the vital bloud with corruption, and purchasest diseases, repentance, and hatred onely. Bestow therefore thy youth so, that thou mayest have comfort to remember it, when it hath forsaken thee, and not sigh and grieve at the account thereof: whilest thou art young thou wilt think it will never have an end; but behold, the longest day hath his evening, and that thou shalt enjoy it but once, that it never turns again, use it therefore as the Spring time, which soon departeth, and wherein thou oughtest to plant, and sow all provisions for a long and happy life.

CHAP. III.

*Wiseſt men have been abuſed
by flatterers.*

TAKE care thou be not made a fool,
by flatterers, for even the wiſeſt
men are abuſed by theſe. Know there-
fore, that flatterers are the worſt kind
of Traitors; for they will ſtrengthen
thy imperfections, encourage thee in
all evils, correct thee in nothing, but ſo
ſhadow and paint all thy vices, and fol-
lies, as thou ſhalt never, by their will,
diſcern evil from good, or vice from
virtue. And becauſe all men are apt to
flatter themſelves, to entertain the ad-
ditions of other mens praifes is moſt
perillous. Do not therefore praife thy
ſelf, except thou wilt be counted a
vain glorious fool, neither take delight
in the praifes of other men except thou
deſerve it, and receive it from ſuch as
are worthy and honeſt, and will withall
warn thee of thy faults; for flatterers
have never any virtue, they are ever
baſe, creeping, cowardly perſons. A flat-
terer is ſaid to be a beaſt that biteth
ſmiling, it is ſaid by *Iſaiah* in this man-
ner

ner: My people, they that praise thee seduce thee, and disorder the paths of thy feet; and David desired God to cut out the tongue of a flatterer. But 't is hard to know them from friends, so are they obsequious and full of protestations; for as a wolf resembles a dog, so doth a flatterer a friend. A flatterer is compared to an Ape, who because she cannot defend the house like a dog, 'about as an ox, or bear burdens as a horse, doth therefore yet play tricks, and prouoke laughter: Thou mayest be sure that he that will in private tell thee thy faults, is thy friend, for he adventures thy milke, and doth hazard thy hatred; for there are few men that can endure it, every man for the most part delighting in self-praise, which is one of the most uniuersall follies which bewitcheth mankind.

CHAP. IV.

Private quarrels to be avoided.

BE carefull to avoid publick disputations at Feast, or at Tables, among

mong cholerick or quarrellsom persons; and eschew evermore to be acquainted or familiar with Ruffians, for thou shalt be in as much danger in contending with a brawler in a private quarrel, as in a battel, wherein thou mayest get honour to thy self and safety to thy Prince and Countrey; but if thou be once engaged, carry thy self bravely, that they may fear thee after. To shun therefore private fight, be well advised in thy words and behaviour, for honour and shame is in the talk, and the tongue of a man causeth him to fall.

lest not openly at those that are simple, but remember how much thou art bound to God, who hath made thee wiser. Defame not any woman publickly, though thou know her to be evil; for those that are faulty cannot endure to be taxed but will seek to be avenged of thee, and those that are not guilty cannot endure unjust reproch. And as there is nothing more shamefull and dishonest, than to do wrong, so truth it self cutteth his throat that carrieth her publickly in every place. Remember the divine, saying, *He that keepeth his mouth, keepeth his life.* Do therefore right to all
men

men where it may profit them, and thou shalt thereby get much love, and forbear to speak evil things of men, though it be true (if thou be not constrained) and thereby thou shalt avoid malice and revenge.

Do not accuse any man of any crime, if it be not to save thy self, thy Prince, or Countrey; for there is nothing more dishonourable (next to Treason it self) than to be an Accuser. Notwithstanding I would not have thee for any respect loose thy reputation, or endure publick disgrace, for better it were not to live, than to live a coward; if the offence proceed not from thy self; if it do, it shall be better to compound it upon good terms, than to hazard thy self; for if thou overcome, thou art vnder the cruelty of the Law, if thou art overcome, thou art dead or dishonoured. If thou therefore contend, or discourse in argument; let it be with wise and sober men, of whom thou mayest learn by reasoning, and not with ignorant persons, for thou shalt thereby instruct those that will not thank thee, and utter, what they have learned from thee, for their own. But if thou know more than other men, utter it when it may do thee honour,

nour, and not in assemblies of ignorant and common persons.

Speaking much also, is a sign of vanity; for he that is lavish in words, is a niggard in deeds; and as Solomon saith, *The mouth of a wise man is in his heart, the heart of a fool is in his mouth, because what he knoweth or thinketh, he uttereth*: And by thy words and discourses, men will judge thee. For as Socrates saith, *such as thy words are, such will thy affections be esteemed; and such will thy deeds as thy affections, and such thy life as thy deeds*. Therefore be advised what thou dost discourse of, what thou maintainest; whether touching Religion, State, or vanity; for if thou erre in the first, thou shalt be accounted profane; if in the second, dangerous; if in the third, indiscreet and foolish: He that cannot refrain from much speaking, is like a Citie without walls, and lesse pains in the world a man cannot take, than to hold his tongue; therefore, if thou observest this rule in all assemblies, thou shalt seldom erre; restrain thy choller, hearken much, and speak little; for the tongue is the instrument of the greatest good, and greatest evil that is done in the world.

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According to Solomon, *Life and death are in the power of the tongue*; and as Euripides truly affirmeth, *Every unbridled tongue, in the end shall find it self unfortunate*; for in all that ever I observed in the course of worldly things; I ever found that mens fortunes are oftner made by their tongues than by their virtues, and more mens fortunes overthrown thereby also, than by their vices. And to conclude, all quarrels, mischief, hatred, and destruction, ariseth from unadvised speech, and in much speech there are many errors, out of which thy enemies shall ever take the most dangerous advantage. And as thou shalt be happy, if thou thy self observe these things, so shall it be most profitable for thee to avoid their companies that erre in that kind, and not to hearken to Tale-bearers, to inquisitive persons, and such as busie themselves with other mens estates, that creep into houses as spies, to learn news which concerns them not; for assure thy self such persons are most base and unworthy, and I never knew any of them prosper, or respected amongst worthy or wise men.

Take

Take heed also that thou be not found a liar; for a lying spirit is hateful both to God and man. A liar is commonly a Coward; for he dares not avow truth. A liar is trusted of no man he can have no credit, neither in publick nor private; and if there were no more arguments than this, know that our Lord in S. *John* saith, *That it is a vice proper to Satan*, lying being opposite to the nature of God, which consisteth in Truth; and the gain of lying is nothing else, but not to be trusted of any, nor to be believed when we say the truth. It is said in the *Proverbs*, *That God hateth false lips; and he that speaketh lies, shall perish.* Thus thou mayest see and find in all the Books of God, how odious and contrary to God a liar is; and for the world, believe it, that it never did any man good (except in the extremity of saving life;) for a liar is of a base, unworthy, and cowardly spirit.



CHAP. V.

*Three Rules to be observed for
the preservation of a
mans estate.*

A Mongst all other things of the World, take care of thy estate, which thou shalt ever preserve, if thou observe three things; First. that thou know what thou hast, what every thing is worth that thou hast, and to see that thou art not wasted by thy Servants and Officers. The second is, that thou never spend any thing before thou have it; for borrowing is the canker and death of every mans estate. The third is, that thou suffer not thy self to be wounded for other mens faults, and scourged for other mens offences; which is, to be surety for another; for thereby millions of men have been beggered and destroyed, paying the reckoning of other mens riot, and the charge of other mens folly and prodigality; if thou smart, smart for thine own sins, and above all things, be not made an Ass

to carry the burdens of other men: If any friend desire thee to be his surety, give him a part of what thou hast to spare, if he press thee farther, he is not thy friend at all, for friendship rather chooseth harm to it self, than offereth it: If thou be bound for a stranger, thou art a fool; if for a merchant, thou puttest thy estate to learn to swim: if for a Church-man, he hath no inheritance: if for a Lawyer, he will find an evasion by a syllable or word, to abuse thee: if for a poor man, thou must pay it thy self: if for a rich man, it need not: therefore from Suretyship, as from a Man slayer, or Enchanter, bless thy self; for the best profit and return will be this, that if thou force him for whom thou art bound, to pay it himself, he will become thy enemy, if thou use to pay it thy self, thou wilt be a beggar; and believe thy Father in this, and print it in thy thought, that what virtue soever thou hast be it never so manifold, if thou be poor withall, thou, and thy qualities shall be despised: Besides, poverty is oft times sent as a curse of God, it is a shame amongst men, an imprisonment of the mind, a vexation of

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every

every worthy spirit; thou shalt neither help thy self nor others, thou shalt drown thee in all thy virtues, having no means to shew them, thou shalt be a burthen, and an Eye-sore to thy friends, every man will fear thy company, thou shalt be driven basely to beg, and depend on others, to flatter unworthy men, to make dishonest shifts; and to conclude, poverty provokes a man to do infamous and detested deeds: Let no vanity therefore, or perswasion draw thee to that worst of wordly miseries.

If thou be rich, it will give thee pleasure in health, comfort in sickness, keep thy mind and body free, save thee from many perils, relieve thee in thy elder years, relieve the poor, and thy honest Friends, and give means to thy posterity to live, and defend themselves, and thine own fame, where it is said in the Proverbs, *That he shall be sore vexed that is surety for a stranger, and he that hateth suretiship is sure.* It is further said, *The poor is hated even of his own neighbour, but the rich have many friends.* Lend not to him that is mightier than thy self, for if thou lendest him, count it but lost;
be

be not surety above thy power, for if thou be surety, think to pay it.

CHAP. VI.

*What sort of Servants are
fittest to be enter-
tained.*

LEt thy servants be such as thou mayest command, and entertain none about thee but Yeomen, to whom thou givest wages; for those that will serve thee without thy hire, will cost thee treble as much as they that know thy fare: if thou trust any Servant with thy purse, be sure thou take his account ere thou sleep; for if thou put it off, thou wilt then afterwards, for tediousness, neglect it. I my self have thereby lost more than I am worth. And whatsoever thy servant gaineth thereby, he will never thank thee, but laugh thy simplicity to scorn; and besides, 'tis the way to make thy servants thieves, which else would be honest.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

*Brave Rags wear soonest out
of Fashion.*

EXceed not in the humour of rags
and braverie; for these will soon
wear out of Fashion; but money in
thy Purse will ever be in Fashion; and
no man is esteemed for gay Garments,
but by Fools and Women.

CHAP. VIII.

*Riches not to be sought by
evil means.*

ON the other side, take heed that
thou seek not Riches basely, nor
attain them by evil means, destroy
no man for his wealth, nor take any
thing from the Poor; for the cry and
complaint thereof will pierce the Hea-
vens. And it is most detestable be-
fore God, and most dishonourable be-
fore worthy men, to wrest any thing
from

from the needy and labouring Soul. God will never prosper thee in ought, if thou offend therein: But use thy poor neighbours and Tenants well, pine not them and their children, to adde superfluity and needlesse expences to thy self. He that hath pitie on another mans sorrow, shall be free from it himself; and he that delighteth in, and scorneth the misery of another, shall one time or other fall into it himself. Remember this Precept, *He that hath mercy on the poor, lenacth unto the Lord, and the Lord will recompence him what he hath given.* I do not understand those for poor, which are vagabonds and beggers, but those that labour to live, such as are old and cannot travell, such poor widows and fatherlesse children as are ordered to be relieved, and the poor Tenants that travell to pay their Rents, and are driven to poverty by mischance, and not by riot or carelesse expences; on such have thou compassion, and God will blesse thee for it. Make not the hungry soul sorrowfull, defer not thy gift to the needy, for if he curse thee in the bitternesse of his soul, his prayer shall be heard of him that made him.

CHAP.

C H A P. IX.

*What Inconveniencies happen
to such as delight in
Wine.*

TAke especiall care that thou delight not in Wine, for there never was any man that came to honour or preferment that loved it; for it transformeth a man into a beast, decayeth health, poisoneth the breath, destroyeth naturall heat, brings a mans stomach to an artificiall heat, deformeth the face, rotteth the teeth, and to conclude, maketh a man contemptible, soon old, and despised of all wise and worthy men; hated in thy servants, in thy self and companions; for it is a bewitching and infectious vice, And remember my words, that it were better for a man to be subject to any vice, than to it, for all other vanities and sins are recovered, but a Drunkard will never shake off the delight of beastlinesse; for the longer it possesseth a man, the more he will delight in it, and the elder he groweth, the
the

the more he shall be subject to it; for it dulleth the spirits, and destroyeth the body, as Ivie doth the old Tree; or as the worm that engendereth in the kernel of the Nut.

Take heed therefore that such a curelesse Canker possesse not thy youth, nor such a beastly infection thy old age; for then shall all thy life be but as the life of a beast, and after thy death, thou shalt only leave a shamefull infamy to thy posterity, who shall study to forget that such a one was their Father. *Anacharsis* saith, *The first draught serveth for health, the second for pleasure, the third for shame, the fourth for madnesse*; but in youth there is not so much as one draught permitted; for it putteth fire to fire; and wasteth the naturall heat and seed of generation. And therefore, except thou desire to hasten thine end, take this for a generall rule, That thou never add any artificiall heat to thy body by Wine or Spice, untill thou find that time hath decayed thy naturall heat, and the sooner thou beginne't to help nature, the sooner she will forsake thee, and trust altogether to Art: *Who have misfortune, saith Solomon,*

lomor, who have sorrow and grief, who have trouble without fighting, stripes without cause, and faintness of eyes: even they that sit at wine, and drain themselves to empty Cups: Plinie saith, wine maketh the hand quivering, the eyes waterie, the night unquiet, lewd dreams, a sinking breath in the morning, and an utter forgetfulness of all things.

Whosoever loveth Wine, shall not be trusted of any man; for he cannot keep a secret. Wine maketh a man not onely a beast, but a mad man; and if thou love it, thy own Wife, thy Children, and thy friends will despise thee. In drink men care not what they say, what offence they give, they forget comeliness, commit disorders; and to conclude, offend all virtuous and honest company, and God most of all; to whom we daily pray for health, and a life free from pain: and yer by drunkenness, and gluttony, (which is the drunkenness of feeding) we draw on, saith Hesiod, a swift, hasty, untimely, cruel, and an infamous old age. And S. Augustine describeth Drunkenness in this manner: *Ebrietas est blandus Damon, dulce venenum suave*

suave peccatum; quam, qui habet, seipsum non habet; quam qui facit, peccatum non facit, sed ipsi est peccatum.

Drunkennes is a flattering Devil, a sweet poison, a plea'ant sin; which whosoever hath, hath not himself, which whosoever doth commit, doth not commit sin, but he himself is wholly sin.

Innocentius saith, Quid turpius ebrioso cui sator in ore, tremor in corpore, qui promit stulta, promit occulta, cui mens alienatur, facies transformatur, nullum secretum ubi regnat ebrietas, & quid non aliud designat malum, facundi calices quem non fecere disertum?

What is filthier than a drunken man to whom there is stink in the mouth, trembling in the bodie; which uttereth foolish things, and revealeth secret things; whose mind is alienate, and face transformed? Whom have not plentiful cups made eloquent and talking?

When **DIOGENES** saw a house to be sold, whercof the owner was given to drink, I thought at the last,

quoth Diogenes, he would spue out a whole house; *Sciebam inquit, quod domus tandem evomeret.*

CHAP. X.

*Let God be thy Protector and
Director in all thy
Actions.*

NOW for the World, I know it too well, to perswade thee to dive into the practises thereof, rather stand upon thine own guard against all that tempt thee thereunto, or may practise upon thee in thy conscience, thy reputation, or thy purse; resolve that no man is wise or safe, but he that is honest.

Serve God, let him be the Author of all thy actions, commend all thy endeavours to him that must either wither or prosper them, please him with prayer, lest if he frown, he confound all thy fortunes and labours,

Sir *walter Raleigh* to his Son. 107

labours, like the drops of Rain on the
sandy ground: let my experienced
advice, and fatherly instructions, sink
deep into thy heart. So God di-
rect thee in all his ways,
and fill thy heart with
his grace.

FINIS.





The dutifull
A D V I C E
 OF
A L O V I N G S O N
 To his
AGED FATHER.

S I R,



Humbly beseech you,
 both in respect of the
 honour of God, your
 duty to his Church, and
 the comfort of your
 own soul, that you se-
 riously consider in what terms you
 stand; and weigh your self in a Chri-
 stian ballance; taking for your coun-
 terpoise the judgements of God : Take
 heed in time that the word *T E K E L*,
 writ.

written of old against *Belsazzar*, and interpreted by *Daniel*, be not verified in you, whose exposition was, *You have been poised in the scale, and found of too light weight.*

Remember that you are now in the waning, and the date of your pilgrimage well nigh expired, and now that it becometh you to look towards your Countrey, your forces languisheth, your senses impair, your body droops, and on every side the ruinous Cottage of your faint and feeble flesh, threateneth the fall: And having so many harbingers of death to premounish you of your end, how can you but prepare for so dreadfull a stranger. The young man may die quickly, but the old man cannot live long: the young mans life by casualty may be abridged, but the old mans by no physick can be long adjourned, and therefore if green years should sometimes think of the grave, the thoughts of old age should continually dwell in the same.

The prerogative of Infancy is innocency; of Child-hood, reverence; of Man-hood, maturity; and of old age, wisdom.

And



And seeing then that the chiefest properties of wisdom, are to be mindfull of things past, carefull for things present, and provident for things to come: Use now the priviledge of natures talent, to the benefit of your own soul, and procure hereafter to be wise in well doing, and watchfull in the fore-sight of future harms. To serve the world you are now unable, and though you were able, yet you have little cause to be willing, seeing that it never gave you but an unhappy welcome, a hurtfull entertainment, and now doth abandon you with an unfortunate fare-well.

You have long sowed in a field of flint, which could bring nothing forth but a crop of cares, and afflictions of spirit, rewarding your labours with remorse, and affording for your gain, eternal danger.

It is now more than a seasonable time to alter the course of so unthriving a husbandry, and to enter into the field of Gods Church, in which, sowing the seed of repentant sorrow, and watering them with the tears of humble contrition, you may hereafter reap a more beneficial harvest, and gather

ther the fruits of everlasting comfort

Remember, I pray you, that your spring is spent, your summer over-past, you are now arrived at the fall of the leaf; yea, and winter colours have long since stained your hoary head.

Be not carelesse (saith Saint Augustine) *though our loving Lord bear long with offenders; for the longer he stays, not finding amendment, the sorer he will scourge when he comes to judgement: And his patience in so long forbearing, is only to lend us respite to repent, and not any wise to enlarge us leisure to sin.*

He that is tossed with variety of storms, and cannot come to his desired Port, maketh not much way, but is much turmoyled. So, he that hath passed many years, and purchased little profit, hath a long being, but a short life: For, life is more to be measured by well doing, than by number of years; Seeing that most men by many days do but procure meny deaths, and others in short space attain to the life of infinite ages; what is the body without the soul, but a corrupt car-kasse? And what is the soul without God,

God, but a sepulchre of sin?

If God be the Way, the Life, and the Truth, he that goeth without him, strayeth; and he that liveth without him, dieth; and he that is not taught by him, crieth.

Well (saith Saint *Augustine*) God is our true and chiefest Life, from whom to revolt, is to fall; to whom to return, is to rise; and in whom to stay, is to stand sure.

God is he, from whom to depart, is to die; to whom to repair, is to revive; and in whom to dwell, is life for ever. Be not then of the number of those that begin not to live, till they be ready to die: and then after a foes desert, come to crave of God a friends entertainment.

Some there be that think to snatch Heaven in a moment, which the best can scarce attain unto in the maintenance of many years; and when they have glutted themselves with worldly delights, would jump from *Dice* Diet to *Lazarus* Crown, from the service of Satan, to the solace of a Saint.

But be you well assured, that God is not so penurious of friends, as to hold himself and his Kingdom saleable,

able for the refuse and reversion of their lives, who have sacrificed the principall thereof to his enemies, and their own brutish lust; then onely ceasing to offend, when the ability of offending is taken from them.

True it is, that a thief may be saved upon the crosse: and mercy found at the last gasp: But *weli* (saith S. Augustine) though it be possible, yet it is scarce credible, that he in death should find favour, whose whole life deserved death; and that the repentance should be more excepted, that more for fear of hell, and love of himself, than for the love of God, and loathsomnesse of sin, crieth for mercy.

Wherefore, good S I R, make no longer delays; but being so near the breaking up of your mortall house, take time before extremity, to pacifie Gods anger.

Though you suffer the bud to be blasted, though you permitted the fruits to be perished, and the leaves to drie up; yea, though you let the boughs to wither, and the body of your tree to grow to decay, yet (alas) keep life in the root, for fear lest the whole tree become fuel for hell fire;
For

God, but a sepulchre of sin?

If God be the Way, the Life, and the Truth, he that goeth without him, strayeth; and he that liveth without him, dieth; and he that is not taught by him, errieth.

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But be you well assured, that God is not so penurious of friends, as to hold himself and his Kingdom saleable,

able for the refuse and reversion of their lives, who have sacrificed the principall thereof to his enemies, and their own brutish lust; then onely ceasing to offend, when the ability of offending is taken from them.

True it is, that a thief may be saved upon the crosse: and mercy found at the last gasp: But well (saith S. Augustine) though it be possible, yet it is scarce credible, that he in death should find favour, whose whole life deserved death; and that the repentance should be more excepted, that more for fear of hell, and love of himself, than for the love of God, and loathsomnesse of sin, crieth for mercy.

Wherefore, good S I R, make no longer delays; but being so near the breaking up of your mortall house, take time before extremity, to pacifie Gods anger.

Though you suffer the bud to be blasted, though you permitted the fruits to be perished, and the leaves to drie up; yea, though you let the boughs to wither, and the body of your tree to grow to decay, yet (alas) keep life in the root, for fear lest the whole tree become fuel for hell fire;
For

For surely where the tree falleth, there it shall lie, whether towards the South or to the North, to heaven, or to hell; and such sap as it bringeth forth, such fruit shall it ever bear.

Death hath already filed from you the better part of your natural forces, and left you now to be Lees, and remissalls of your wearyish and dying days.

The remainder whereof, as it cannot be long, so doth it warn you speedily to ransom your former losses; for what is age, but the Calends of death? & what importeth your present weakness, but an earnest of your approaching dissolution? you are now embarked in your finall voyage, and not far from the stint and period of your course.

Be not therefore unprovided of such appurtenances as are behooveful in so perplexed and perrilous a Journey; death it self is very fearfull, but much more terrible in respect of the judgement it summoneth us unto.

If you were now laid upon your departing bed, burthened with the heauie load of your former trespasses, and gored with the sting and prick of a fostered

flered conscience; if you felt the
cramp of death wrestling your heart-
strings, and ready to make the ruefull
divorce between body and soul; If you
lay parting for breath, and swimming
in a cold and pale sweat, wearied with
strugling against your deadly pangs, O
what would you give for an hours re-
pentance; at what rate would you va-
lue a days contrition? Then worlds
would be worth less in respect of a lit-
tle respite, a short truce would seem
more precious then the treasures of an
Empire, nothing would be so much
esteemed as a short time of truce, which
now by days, and months, and years,
is most lavishly mispent.

Oh how deeply would it wound your
woefull heart when looking back into
your former life, you considered many
hainous and horrible offences com-
mitted, many pious works, and godly
deeds omitted, and neither of both re-
pentred, your service to God promised,
and not performed.

Oh how unconsolably were your
case, your friends being fled, your sen-
ses affrighted, your thoughts amazed,
your memory decayed, and your whole
mind agast, and no part able to per-
form

form what it should ; but onely your guilty conscience pestered with sin , that would continually upbraid you with many bitter accusations.

Oh what would you think then, being stripped out of this mortall weed , and turned out both of service and house-room of this wicked world, you are forced to enter into uncouth and strange paths, and with unknown and ugly company, to be convented before a most severe Judge, carrying in your conscience your Inditement , written in a perfect Register of all your misdeeds, when you shall see him prepared to give sentence upon you , against whom you have so often transgressed, and the same to be your Umpire , whom by so many offences you have made your enemy , when not onely the Devil, but even the Angels would plead against you, and your own self, in despite of your self, be your own most sharp appeacher.

Oh what would you do in these dreadfull exigents, when you saw the ghastly Dragon, and huge gulph of hell, breaking out with most fearfull flames, when you heard the weeping, wailing , and gnashing of teeth; the
rage

rage of those hellish monsters, the horror of the place, the terrour of the company, and the eternity of all those torments.

Would you then think them wise that should delay in so weighty matters, and idly play away the time allotted, to prevent these intolerable calamities? Would you then count it secure, to nurse in your own bosom so many Serpents as sins? and to foster in your soul so many malicious accusers, as mortall and horrible offences? Would you not think one life too little to repent in for so many, and so great iniquities, every one whereof were enough to throw you into those unspeakable and intolerable torments.

And why then (alas!) do you not at the least devote that small remnant, and surplussage of these your later days, procuring to make an atonement with God, and to free your Soul and Conscience from that corruption, which by your fall hath crept into it.

Those very eyes that behold, and read this discourse, those very ears that are attentive to hear it, and that very understanding that considereth
and

and conceiveth it, shall be cited as certain witnessles of these rehearsed things. In your own body shall you experience these deadly Agonies, and in your Soul shall you feelingly find these terrible fears; yea, and your present estate, is in danger of the deepest harms, if you do not the sooner recover your self into that fold and family of Gods faithfull servants.

What have you gotten by being so long a customer to the World, but false ware, suitable to the shop of such a merchant, whose traffick is toyl, whose wealth is trash, and whose gain is miserie? What interest have you reaped, that might equall your detriment in grace and virtue? Or what could you find in the vale of tears, that was answerable to the favour of God, with losse whereof, you were contented to buy it?

You cannot now be inveigled with the passions of youth, which making a partiality of things, sets no distance between counterfeit and currant, for these are now worn out of force, by tract of time are fallen into reproof, by triall of their folly.

Oh let not the crazie cowardnesse of
flesh

flesh and bloud, daunt the prowesse of an intelligent person, who by his wisdom cannot but discern how much more cause there is, and how much more needfull it is to serve God, than this wicked world.

But if it be the ungrounded presumption of the mercy of God, and the hope of his assistance at the last plunge (which indeed is the ordinary lure of the devil) to reclaim sinners from the pursuit of Repentance. Alas, that is too palpable a collusion to mislead a sound and serviceable man, howsoever it may prevail with sick and ill-affected judgements: who would rely upon eternall affairs, upon the gliding slipperinesse, and running streams of our uncertain life? who, but one of distempered wits, would offer fraud to the Decipherer of all thoughts; with whom dissemble we may to our cost, but to deceive him, is impossible.

Shall we esteem it cunning to rob the time from him, and bestow it on his enemies, who keepeth tale of the least minutes, and will examine in the end how every moment hath been employed. It is a preposterous kind of policie, in any wise conceit to fight
against

against God, till our weapons be blunted, our forces consumed, our limbs impotent, and our best time spent; and then when we fall for faintness, and have fought our selves almost dead, to presume on his mercy.

Oh! no, no, the wounds of his most sacred body, so often rubbed, and renewed by our sins, and every part and parcel of our bodies so divers, and sundry ways abused, will be then as so many whet-stones and incentives, to edge and exasperate his most just revenge against us.

It is a strange piece of Art, and a very exorbitant course, when the Ship is sound, the Pilot well, the Marriners strong, the Gale favourable, & the Sea calm; to ly idly at the road, burning so seasonable weather: And when the Ship leaketh, the Pilot sick, the Marriners faint, the Storms boysterous, and the Seas a turmoyl of outrageous Surges, then to launch forth, (hoise up sail) and set out for a long voyage into a far Countrey.

Yet such is the skill of these evening Repenters, who though in the soundness of their health, and perfect use of their reason, they cannot resolve to
cut

cut the Cables, and weigh the Anchor that with-holds them from God.

Nevertheless, they feed themselves with a strong perswasion, that when they are astonied, their wits distracted, the understanding dusked, and the bodies and souls wracked, and tormented with the throbs and gripes of a mortall sicknesse; then forsooth they will begin to think of their weightiest matters, and become sudden Saints, when they are scarce able to behave themselves like reasonable creatures.

No, no, if neither the Canon, Civil, nor the Common Law will allow that man (perished in judgement) should make any Testament of his temporall substance; how can he that is animated with inward garboyls of an unsetled conscience, distrained with the wringing fits of his dying flesh, maimed in all his ability, and circled in on every side with many and strange incumberances, be thought of due discretion to dispose of his chiefeft Jewell, which is his Soule? and to dispatch the whole manage of all eternity, and of the treasures of Heaven, in so short a spurt?

No, no, they that will loyter in seed-time, and begin to sow when others

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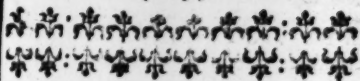
reap;

reap; they that will riot cut their health, and begin to cast their accounts when they are scarce able to speak; they that will slumber out the day, and enter their journey when the light doth fail them; let them blame their own folly, if they die in debt, and be eternall beggers, and fall head-long into the lap of endlesse perdition.

Let such listen to S. Cyprian's lesson; Let, saith he, the grievousnesse of our sore be the measure of our sorrow; let a deep wound have a deep and diligent cure; Let no mans Conviction be lesse than his Crime.

F I N I S.





Sir Walter Raleigh's

S C E P T I C K.

The SCEPTICK doth neither affirm, neither deny any Position: but doubtieth of it, and opposeth his Reasons against that which is affirmed, or denied, so justifie his not-conjuring.



Is first Reason ariseth, from the consideration of the great difference amongst living Creatures, both in the matter and manner of their

Generations, and the severall Constitutions of their bodies.

Some living Creatures are by copulation, and some without it: & that either by Fire, as Crickets in tornaces; or corrupt water, as Gnats; or slime, as Frogs; or dirt, as Worms; or herbs, as Canker-worms. some of ashes, as Beetles;

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some

some of trees, as the Worms *Pescus* bred in the wild Fig-tree; some of living creatures putrified, as Bees of Bulls, and Wasps of Horses. By Copulation many creatures are brought forth alive, as Man; some in the egg, as Birds; some in an unshapen piece of flesh, as Bears. These great differences cannot but cause a divers and contrary temperament, and qualitie in those creatures, and consequently, a great diversity in their phantasie and conceit; so that they apprehend one and the same object, yet they must do it after a divers manner: for is it not absurd to affirm, That creatures differ so much in temperature, and yet agree in conceit concerning one and the same object?

See- But this will more plainly appear, *ing.* if the instruments of Sense in the body be observed: for we shall find, that as these Instruments are affected and disposed, so doth the Imagination conceit that which by them is connected unto it. That very object which seemeth unto us White, unto them which have the laundise seemeth Pale, and Red unto those whose Eyes are bloud-shot. Forasmuch then as living crea-

creatures have some white, some pale, some red eyes, why should not one and the same object seem to some white, to some red, to some pale? If a man rub his eye, the figure of that which he beholdeth seemeth long or narrow; is it then not likely, that those creatures which have a long and slanting Papill of the eye, as Goats, Foxes, Cats, &c. do convey the fashion of that which they behold under another form to the imagination, than those that have round Pupils do?

Who knoweth not, that a Glasse presenteth the outward object smoother, or greater, according to the making of the glasse? If it be hollow, the object seemeth smaller than it is; if the glasse be crooked, then the object seemeth long and narrow. And glasses there be, which present the head of him that looketh in them, downwards, and the heels upwards. Now then, seeing the eye, which is the instrument of Sight, in some living creatures is more outward, in some more hollow, in some plain, in some greater, in some lesse; it is very probable, that Fishes Men, Lions, and Dogs, whose eyes so much differ, do not conceive the self-same object after the

same manner, but diversly, according to the diversitie of the eye, which offereth it unto the phantasie.

Touch. The same reason holdeth in *ing.* Touching; for seemeth it not absurd to think, that those creatures which are covered with Shells, those which are covered with Scales, those which are covered with Hairs, and those which are Smooth, should all be alike sensible in Touching? and every one of them convey the image, or qualitie of the same object which they touch in the very same degree of heat or cold, of drinels or moisture, roughness or smoothness, unto the imagination?

Hear. So might it be shewed in *Hear- ing.* ing: for how can we think that the Ear which hath a narrow passage, & the Ear which hath an open & wide passage, do receive the same sound in the same degree? or that the Ear whose inside is full of hair, doth hear in the same just measure, that the Ear doth whose inside is smooth? Since experience sheweth, that if we stop, or half stop our Ears, the sound cometh not to us in the same manner & degree, that it doth if our ears be open.

The

S^{m^{le}} The like may be thought of
ling Smelling; for man himself a-
 bounding with Fleagm, is otherwise af-
 fected in smelling, than he is, if the
 parts about the head be full of bloud;
 and many things afford a delightfull
 smell to some living creatures, which
 smell to other living creatures seemeth
 not to be so.

Tst In the Taste the same reason ap-
 peareth; for to a rough and drie
 tongue, that very thing seemeth bitter
 (as in an Age) which to the moister
 tongue seemeth not to be so. Divers
 creatures then having tongues drier, or
 moister, according to their severall tem-
 peratures, when they taste the same
 thing, must needs conceit it to be ac-
 cording as the instrument of their taste
 is affected, either bitter, or sweet, &c.
 For even as the hand in the striking of
 the Harp, though the stroke be one, yet
 causeth a sound, sometimes high, some-
 times base, according to the quality of
 the string that is stricken: Even so one
 and the same outward object is diversly
 judged of, and conceited, according to
 the severall and divers qualities of the
 instrument of Sense, which conveyeth it
 to the imagination. Oyntment is plea-
 sing

ing to Man; but Beetles and Bees cannot abide it. Oyl to man is profitable; but it killeth Bees and Wasps. Cicuta feedeth Quails, & Henbane Sows; but both of these hurt Man. If a Man eat Ants he is sick; but the Bear being sick, recovereth by eating them.

If then one and the very same thing to the red eye seem red, to another pale, and white to another: If one and the same thing, seem not hot or cold, drie or moist, in the same degree to the severall creatures which touch it: If one and the self-same sound seem more shrill to that creature which hath a narrow ear, and more base to him that hath an open ear: If the same thing, at the same time, seem to afford a pleasant and displeasing Smell to divers and severall creatures: If that seem bitter in tast to one, which to another seemeth sweet, that to one hurtfull, which to another seemeth healthfull: I may report how these things appear divers to severall creatures, and seem to produce divers effects.

But what they are in their own nature, whether red or white, bitter or sweet, healthfull or hurtfull, I cannot tell. For why should I presume to pro-
fer

fer my conceit and imagination, in affirming that a thing is thus, or thus, in its own nature, because it seemeth to me to be so, before the conceit of other living creatures, who may as well think it to be otherwise in each one nature, because it appeareth otherwise to them than it doth to me?

They are living creatures as well as I: why then should I condemn their conceit and phantasie, concerning any thing, more than they may mine? They may be in the truth and I in error, as well as I in truth, and they err. If my conceit must be believed before theirs, great reason that it be proved to be truer than theirs. And this proof must be either by demonstration, or without it. Without it none will believe. Certainly, if by demonstration, then this demonstration must seem to be true, or not seem to be true. If it seem to be true, then will it be a question, whether it be so indeed as it seemeth to be; and to alleadge that for a certain proof, which is uncertain and questionable, seemeth absurd.

If it be said, that the imagination of Man judgeth truer of the outward object, than the imagination of other

living creatures doth, and therefore to be credited above others, (besides that which is already said,) this is easily refuted by comparing of Man with other creatures.

It is confessed, the Dog excelleth Man in smell, and in hearing: and whereas there is said to be a two-fold discourse, one of the mind, another of the tongue and that of the mind is said to be exercised in chusing that which is convenient, and refusing that which is hurtfull in knowledge, justice, and thankfulness: This creature chuseth his food, refuseth the whip, sawneth on his Master, defendeth his house, revengeth himself of those strangers that hurt him. And *Homer* mentioneth *Argus*, the dog of *Ulysses*, who knew his master, having been from home so many years, that at his return, all the people of his house had forgot him. This creature, saith *Chrysippus*, is not void of Logick: for when in following any beast, he cometh to three severall ways, he smelleth to the one, and then to the second; and if he find that the beast which he pursueth be not fled one of these 2 ways, he presently without smelling any further to it, taketh the third way: which,

which, saith the same Philosopher, is as if he reasoned thus, the Beast must be gone either this, or this, or the other way; but neither this nor this; *Ergo*, the third: and so away he runneth.

If we consider his skill in Physick, it is sufficient to help himself: if he be wounded with a dart, he useth the help of his Teeth to take it out, of his Tongue to cleanse the wound from corruption: he seemeth to be well acquainted with the Precept of Hippocrates, who saith, that the Rest of the Foot is the Physick of the Foot, and therefore if his foot be hurt, he holdeth it up that it may rest: if he be sick, he giveth himself a Vomit by eating of Grasse, and recovereth himself. The Dog then we see is plentifully furnished with inward discourse.

Now outward speech is not needfull to make a creature Reasonable, else a dumb Man were an unreasonable Creature.

And do not Philosophers themselves reject this as an enemy to knowledge and therefore they are *silent* when they are instructed; and yet even as Barbarous and strange people of speech, but we understand it not, neither do we
per-

perceiue any great difference in their words : but a difference there seemeth to be, and they do expresse their thoughts and meanings one to another by those words. Even so those creatures, which are commonly called unreasonable, do seem to parlie one with another; and by their speech to understand one the other. Do not Birds by one kind of speech call their young ones, and by another cause them to hide themselves? Do they not by their severall voices expresse their severall passions of joy, of grief, of fear in such manner, that their fellows understand them? Do they not by their voice fore-shew things to come? But we will return to that creature we first did instance in. The Dog delivereth one kind of voice when he hunteth, another when he howleth, another when he is beaten, and another when he is angry. These creatures then are not void of outward speech.

If then these creatures excell Man in sense, and are equall to him in inward and outward discourse, why should not their conceits and imaginations conveigh the outward object in as true a manner as ours? and if so, then seeing
their

their imaginations are divers, and they conceit it diversly according to their divers temperaments, I may tell what the outward object seemeth to me; but what it seemeth to other creatures, or whether it be indeed that which it seemeth to me, or any other of them, I know not.

But be it granted. that the Iudgement of Man in this case, is to be preferred before the Iudgement of Beasts; yet in Men there is great difference; both in respect of the outward shape, and also of the temperature of their bodies: For the bodie of the *Soythian* differeth in shape from the bodie of the *Indian*: the reason of it ariseth (say the Dogmaticks) from a predominance of humours in the one more than in the other; and as severall humours are predominant, so are the phantasies and conceits severally framed and effected. So that our countrey-men delight in one thing, the *Indian* not in that, but in another which we regard not. This would not be, if their conceits and ours were both alike; for then we should like that which they do, and they would dislike that which we would dislike. It is evident also, that men differ very much
in

in the temperature of their bodies, else why should some more easily digest Bief than Shell-fish? and other be mad for the time, if they drink wine? There was an old woman about *Arbeus*, which drunk three drams of *Cicuta* (every dram weighing sixtie Barley corns, and eight drams to an ounce) without hurt. *Lyfis*, without hurt, took four drams of Poppie; and *Demophon*, which was Gentleman-Sewer to *Alexander*, was very cold when he stood in the sun, or in a hot bath, but very hot when he stood in the shadow. *Atroxagoras* felt no pain if a Scorpion stung him. And the *Psylli* (a people in *Lybia*, whose bodies are venom to serpents) if they be stung by serpents, or Asps, receive no hurt at all.

The *Ethiopian*, which inhabit the river *Hydaspis*, do eat serpents and scorpions without danger. *Lothectus* a Chirurgicalian, at the smell of a Sturgeon, would be for the time mad. *Andron* of *Argos*, was so little thirstie, that without want of drink, he travelled through the hot and dry countrey of *Lybia*. *Tiberius* (*Caesar*) would see very well in the dark. *Aristotle* mentioneth of *Thracius*, who said, that the image
of

of a Man went always before him.

If then it be so, that there be such differences in Men, this must be by reason of the divers temperatures they have, and divers disposition of their conceit and imagination; for, if one hate, and another love the very same thing, it must be that their phantasies differ, else all would love it, or all would hate it. These Men then, may tell how these things seem to them good, or bad; but what they are in their own Nature they cannot tell.

If we will hearken to mens opinions, concerning one and the same matter, thinking thereby to come to the knowledge of it, we shall find this to be impossible; for, either we must believe what all men say of it, or what some men only say of it. To believe what all men say of one & the same thing, is not possible; for then we shall believe Contrarieties; for some men say, that that very thing is pleasant, which other say is displeasing. If it be said, we must believe onely some men, then let it be shewed who those some men are; for the *Platonists* will believe *Plato*, but the *Epicures* *Epicurus*, the *Pythagorians* *Pythagoras*, & other Philosophers the
masters

n alters of their own Sects: so that it is doubtful, to which of all these we shall give credit. If it be said, that we must credit the greatest number; this seemeth childish: for there may be amongst other Nations a greater number which denie that very point, which the greatest number with us do affirm: so that hereof nothing can certainly be affirmed.

This Argument seemeth to be further confirmed, if the differences of the Senses of *Hearing*, *Seeing*, *Smelling*, *Touching*, and *Tasting* be considered; for that the Senses differ, it seemeth plain.

Painted Tables (in which the art of Slanting is used) appear to the Eye, as if the parts of them were some higher, and some lower than the other, but to the Touch they seem not to be so.

Honey seemeth to the Tongue sweet, but unpleasant to the Eye: so Oynement doth recreate the Smell, but it offendeth the Taste. Rain-water is profitable to the Eyes, but it hurteth the Lungs. We may tell then, how these things seem to our severall senses, but what they are in their own nature we cannot tell: for why should not a man

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credit any one of his senses as well as the other ?

Every object seemeth to be presented diversly unto the severall instruments of Sense. An Apple to the Touch seemeth smooth, sweet to the Smell, and to the Eye yellow; but whether the Apple have one of these qualities onely, or more than these qualities, who can tell? The Organ hath many Pipes, all which are filled with the same blast of wind, varied according to the capacitie of the severall Pipes which receive it: even so the qualitie of the Apple may be but one, and this one quality may be varied, & seem yellow to the Eye, to the Touch smooth, and sweet to the Smell, by reason of the divers instruments of the Sense, which apprehend this one quality diversly.

It may be also, that an Apple hath many qualities besides; but we are not able to conceive them all, because we want fit means and instruments to apprehend them. For suppose that some Man is born blind, and deaf, and yet can touch, smell, and tast; this man will not think that there is any thing, which may be seen or heard, because he wanteth the Senses of hearing and see-

seeing; he will onely think there are those qualities in the object, which by reason of his three Senses he conceiveth: Even so the Apple may have many more qualities; but we cannot come to know them, because we want fit instruments for that purpose.

If it be replied, that Nature hath ordained as many instruments of Sense, as there are sensible objects; I demand, What Nature? for there is a confused controversie about the very Essence of Nature. Some affirming it to be one thing, others another, few agreeing: so that what the quality of an Apple is, or whether it hath one qualitie or many, I know not.

Let a man also consider, how many things that are separated, and by themselves, appear to differ from that which they seem to be, when they are in a mass or lump, the scrapings of the Goats horn seems white, but in the horn they seem black, but in the lump white. The stone *Taxary*, being polished, seemeth white, but unpolished & rough, it seemeth yellow. Sands being separated, appear rough to the Touch, but a great heap, soft. I may then report, how these things appear, but whether they are so indeed, I know not.

Sir



Sir *Walter Raleigh's*
OBSERVATIONS
Concerning the Causes of
the Magnificencie and
Opulencie of
CITIES.

THAT the onely way to
civilize and reform the
savage and barbarous
Lives, and corrupt Man-
ners of such people, is,

1 To be dealt withall by gentle and
loving Conversation among them, to
attain to the knowledge of their Lan-
guage, and of the multitude of their
special discommodities and inconv-
eniences in their manner of living.

2 The next is to get an admired
reputation amongst them, upon a so-
lid and true foundation of Pietie,
Iustice, and wisdom, conjoynd with
fortitude and power.

3 The

3 The third is, discreetly to possess them with a knowledge of the condition of their own estate. Thus *Orpheus* and *Amphion*, were said to draw after them the beasts of the field, &c.

And this must be first wrought by a visible representation, of the certaintie, truth, and sinceritie of these, together with the felicitie of a reformed estate.

All which is but to give foundation, bottom, and firm footing unto action, and to prepare them to receive wholesome and good advise, for the future profit and felicitie of themselves and their posteritie.

For the more commodious effecting of this Reformation in a rude and barbarous people, they are to be perswaded to withdraw and unite themselves into severall Colonies; that by it an interchangeable communication and commerce of all things may more commodiously be had, and that they may so live together in civilitie, for the better succour and welfare of one another: And thereby they may more easily be instructed in the Christian Faith, and governed under the Magistrates and ministers of the King, or other

ther superiour power, under whom this Reformation is sought. Which course the Stoick tells, that *Theseus* took, after he had taken upon him the Government of the *Athenians*, whereby he united all the people into one Citie, that before lived dispersedly in many Villages. The like is put in practice at this day by the *Portugalls* and *Jesuits*, that they may with less difficultie and hinderance reform the rough behaviour, and savage life of the people of *Brazile*, who dwell scattered and dispersed in caves and cottages made of boughs & leaves of the Palm-trees.

Alexander the Great built more than seventie Cities: *Setius* built three Cities, called *Apamea*, to the honour of his wife; and five called *Leodicea*, in memorie of his mother; and five called *Seleucia*, to the honour of himself.

Safetie

*Safetie for Defence of the
People and their goods,
in and near the
Town.*

Situation **I**N the Situation of Cities, there is to be required a place of Safetie, by some natural strength, commodiousness for Navigation, and Conduct, for the attaining of plentie of all good things, for the sustenance & comfort of mans life, and to draw trade and enter-course of other Nations; as if the same be situate in such sort, as many people have need to repair thither for some natural commoditie or other of the Countrey, which by traffick and transportation of commodities, whereof they have more plentie than will supplie their own necessitie, or for receiving of things whereof they have scarcitie. And much better will it be, if the place afford some notable commoditie of it self, from whence other Nations may more readily, and at better rate attain the same: Likewise, and withall, be

be so fertil, pleasant, and healthfull of it self, that it may afford plentie of good things, for the delight and comfort of the inhabitants.

Multitude of Inhabitants. In former times great Nations, Kings and Potentates have endured sharp conflicts, and held it high Policie, by all means to increase their Cities, with multitudes of inhabitants. And to this end the Romans ever furnished themselves with strength and power, to make their neighbour- People, of necessitie, willing to draw themselves to *Rome* to dwell, and overthrow their Towns and Villages of mean strength, down to the ground.

So did they for this cause utterly destroy many Cities, bringing always the vanquished Captives to *Rome*, for the augmentation of that Citie.

Romulus, after a mighty fight with the *Sabines*, condescended to Peace, upon condition that *Tatius* their King should come with all their people to dwell at *Rome*: *Tatius* did accept, and made choice of the *Capitol*, and the Mount *Quirinalis* for his seat and Pallace.

The same course held *Tamberlane*
e the

the Great, whereby he enlarged the great *Samaranda*, still bringing unto it, the richest and wealthiest Citizens he had subdued.

And the *Ottoman*, to make the Citie *Constantinople* rich and great, brought to it many thousand Families, especially Artificers out of the subdued Cities; as *Mahomet* the great from *Tribizond*, *Selim* the First from *Cairo*, and *Soliman* from *Tauris*.

Authoritie and necessitie, without the consideration of the conveniencies, and commodiousness of Situation above mentioned, are of small moment in the foundation of a Citie; thereby onely it would be unlikely, either to grow or continue in Magnificencie or Opulencie; for if Profit, Height, and Delight go not companions therewith, no authoritie or necessitie can retain much People or Wealth.

But if the place whereupon a Citie is to be founded, be commodious for the afore said conveniencies, which help greatly for the felicitie of this life; then, no doubt, the same is likely to draw much abundance of people and riches unto the same, whereby it may, by the help of Arts and Industrie, in
time

time, become magnificent & glorious.

Unto the good estate, greatness, and glorie of a Citie, those things hereafter ment ioned do greatly avail, and are of much importance, viz.

Religi Religion, which is of such force *gion*. and might, to amplify Cities and Dominions, and of such attractive virtue to replenish the same with people and wealth, and to hold them in due obedience, as none can be more; for without adoration of some Dietie, no common wealth can subsist.

Witness *Jerusalem Rome, Constantinople* and all other cities that have been famous for the profession of Religion, or Divine worship And no marvel, for there is not any thing in this world of more efficacie & force to allure and draw to it the hearts of Men, than God, which is the *unum panem*. He is carefully desired, and continually sought for of all creatures; for all regard Him as their last end and refuge.

Light things apply themselves upwards, heavy things downwards; the Heavens to Revolution, the Herbs to flowers, Trees to bear fruit, Beasts to present their kind and Man in seeking his tranquillitie and everlasting glori

But forasmuch as God is of so high a nature, as the sense and understanding of Man cannot conceive it, every man directly turns himself to that place where he leaves some print of his power, or declares some sign of his assistance. And to such persons whom he seemeth more especially to have revealed himself.

Academies. Academies, & Schools of Learning with convenient immunities and privileges for Scholars, and means for Recreation for Delight, are of great importance to enlarge and enrich a citie: forasmuch as men long for honour and profit, and of Arts & liberal sciences some bring certain wealth to men, and some promotions & preferments to honourable functions: for by this means, not onely young men, & those that are desirous of Learning and Virtue in the same Commonwealth, will be retained in their own Countrey; but also strangers will be drawn home to them. And the more will this be available if occasion be given to Scholars and students, to rise to degrees of Honour and preferment by their learned exercises, and that by the Policie of the same citie, good
Wits

Wits be accounted of, and rewarded well: that the same Academies and Schools be stored with plentie of Doctours and learned men, of great fame and reputation.

Courts Courts of Iustice, with due execution of the same in a citie, do
of Justice. much enable, enlarge, & enrich

it; for it fasteneth a great liking in a citie to virtuous men, and such as be wealthie, that therein they may be free, and in safetie from the violence of the oppressions of covetous and wicked men: and there will be rather resort thither to inhabit, or traffick there as occasions may minister unto them. And many others that have cause of suite will repair thither, whereas they may be sure to find Iudgement and Iustice duely executed, whereby the citie must needs be enlarged and enriched: for our lives, and all that ever we have are in the hands of Iustice: so that if Iustice be not administred amongst men, in vain is there any societie and commerce, or any other thing can be profitable or safe; so much is love and charitie failed, and iniquitie increased upon the face of the earth.

Artifi. The excellencie and multitude
ce. likewise of Artificers exercising
the r manuell arts and trades, do
mirvellously increase and enrich a
State, whereof some are necessary,
some commodious for a civil life, o-
ther some are of pomp and orna-
ment, and other some of delicacie
and curiositie, whereof doth follow con-
course of people that labour and work,
and current money which doth enrich
and supply Materials for labourers,
and work-men, buying and selling,
transportation from place to place,
which doth imp'oy and increase the ar-
tificiall and cunning parts of the wit
of Man; and this art and exquisi-
tesse of work-manship and skill is so
powerfull herein, that it far exceeds the
simple commodities and materials that
Nature produceth; and is alone suffi-
cient of it self to make a Citie or State,
both magnificent and glorious: and
the daily experience we have in these
our dayes, and in former times,
doth manifestly approve the same, and
make evident without all contradi-
ction.

Some naturall benefits that a Citie
also may have for the excellency of Art,

or workmanship of some special commodities above any other place, either through the qualitie of the Water, or other matter whatsoever, or some hidden mysterie of the inhabitants in working thereof, may be a great help for the enlargement and enriching of a citie.

The command of a Countrie that affordeth some proper commoditie, is of it self sufficient mightily to bring a Citie to great wealth, and to advance it to great power, and draweth thereby dependencie and concourse, much advantageous also, as well for the publick weal, as the private person.

A Citie also may be Lord of much Merchandize and traffick, by means of the commodious situation to many Nations, to whom it serveth and hath relation to, as Ware houses, Roomth and Store-houses, by reason whereof, the nations adjoyning do use to resort thereunto to make their provisions of such things. And this consisteth in the largenesse of the Ports, the firmesse of the gulphs and creeks of the seas, in the Navigable rivers and channels, and the plain and safe ways that leadeth to the Citie.

Artifi. The excellencie and multitude
ce. 3. likewise of Artificers exercising
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A Citie alſo may be Lord of much Merchandize and traffick, by means of the commodious ſituation to many Nations, to whom it ſerveth and hath relation to, as Ware houſes, Roomth and Store-houſes, by reaſon whereof, the nations adjoyning do uſe to reſort thereunto to make their proviſions of ſuch things. And this conſiſteth in the largeneſſe of the Ports, the ſweetneſſe of the gulphs and creeks of the ſeas, in the Navigable rivers and channels, and the plain and ſafe ways that leadeth to the Citie.

or that come, or turn by or near it. *Priv.* Priviledge and freedom from *leage.* Customs and exact'ons', doth greatly increase the Trade, and draw inhabitants to a citie, whereby the same may become both rich and powerfull; whereof the Marts and Fairs, and Markets bear good witnesse, which are frequented with great concourse of people, Tradesmen and Merchants, for no other respect, but that they are there free and frank from Customs and exact'ons. And the cities in *Flanders* are lively testimonies hereof, where the Customs are very small.

By reason whereof, all such as have created new Cities in times past to draw concourse of people unto it, have granted large immunities, and priviledges at the least, to the first inhabitants thereof.

The like have they done that have restored Cities emptied with Plague, consumed with Wars, or afflicted with Famin, or some other scourge of God. In respect whereof, Freedom of Cities hath been often granted to such as would with their families, inhabit there, or would bring Corn
and

and other necessities for provision of victual.

The *Romans*, to increase their Cities, made the *Towas* that well deserved of them (which they after called *Municipia*) to be partakers of their franchises and priviledges.

The first devise of Rome to allure people to make their habitations rather in Rome than else where, was the opening the Sanctuarie, & giving libertie and freedom to all that would come unto them. In respect whereof, there flocked thither, with their goods, numbers of people that were either racked with exacti-
The first devise of Rome to allure people to make their habitations rather in Rome than else where, was the opening the Sanctuarie, & giving libertie and freedom to all that would come unto them.
live strangers,
as Sanctuarie,
 ons, thrust out of their habitations, or unsafe, or unsure for their lives in their own Countreys for Religion sake.

The very same reason in a manner hath increased so much the crie of *Geneva* : forasmuch as it hath offered entertainment to all commers out of *France* and *Italy*, that have either forsaken, or been exiled their Countreys for Religions sake.

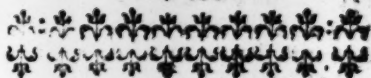
Ti Likewise, triumphs, goodly
 umphs buildings, battels on the water
 fights of sword-players, hunting of wild
 H 4 beast

beasts, publick shows and sights, plays solemnized with great pomp and preparation, and many other such things do draw the curious people to a citie inspeakably, which leaves behind them much treasure, and for such cause will rather settle themselves to inhabit there, than in other places. This was also the devile of Rome in her infancy to enlarge herself.

*The Causes that Concern the
Magnificencie of a
CITIE.*

TO confirm a Citie in her Greatness, Justice, Peace, and Plentie are the un'doubted means: for Justice assureth every man his own Peace. Peace causeth all Arts and negotiation whatsoever to flourish: and Plentie of food and victual, that sustaineth the life of Man with ease and much contentment. To conclude, All those things that cause the Greatnesse of a Citie, are also fit to conserve the same.

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Sir Walter Raleigh's
Seat of
GOVERNMENT.

*That the Seat of Government is up-
held by the two great pillars thereof,
viz. Civile Iustice, and Martia l Poli-
cie, wh ch are framed out of Husban-
drie, Merchandize, and Gentry of
this Kingdom.*

They say, that the goodli-
est CEDARS which
grow on the high moun-
tains of *Libanus*, thrust
their roots between the
clifts of hard Rocks, the better to bear
themselves against the strong storms
that blow there. As Nature hath in-
structed those kings of Trees, so hath
Reason taught the Kings of Men, to
root themselves in the hardie Hearts of
their faithfull Subjects. And as those
H 5 kings

kings of Trees have large Tops, so have the Kings of Men large Crowns; whereof as the first would soon be broken from their bodies, were they not underborn by many branches; so would the other easily tytter, were they not fastened on their heads, with the strong chains of Civil Justice and Martial Discipline.

1. For the administration of the first, even God himself hath given direction, *Judges and Officers shall thou make, which shall judge the People with righteous judgement.*

2 The second is grounded on the first Laws of the world and nature, that Force is to be repelled by Force. Yea Moses in the 10 of *Exodus*, and elsewhere, hath delivered us many Laws & Policies of War. But as we have heard of the neglect and abuse in both, so have we heard of the decline and ruine of many Kingdoms & States long before our days: for that Policie hath never yet prevailed (though it hath served for a short season) where the counterfeit hath been sold for the natural, and the outward shew and formalitie for the substance. Of the Emperour *Charls the Fourth*,
the

the writers of that age witness, that he used but the name of *Justice* and good order, being more learned in the Law than in doing right, and that he had by far, more knowledge than conscience. Certainly the unjust Magistrate that fancieth to himself a solid and untransparable bodie of Gold, every ordinarie wit can vitrifie, and make transparent pierce, and discern their corruptions; howsoever, because not daring, they cover their knowledge, but in the mean while it is also true, That constrained dissimulation, either in the proud heart, or in the oppressed, either in publick estates, or in private persons, where the fear of God is not prevalent, doth in all the leisure of her lurking, but sharpen her teeth, the voluntarie being no less base, than the forced malicious. Thus it fared between the Barons of *England* and their Kings, between the Lords of *Switzerland* & their people, between the *Sicilians* and the *French* between the *Dolphin* and *John of Burgoyne*, between *Charl* the Ninth and the *French* Protestants, and between *Henry* the third, his successor, and the Lords of *Guise*, hercof in place of more particulars,

lars, the whole world may serve for examples.

It is a difficult piece of Geographic to delineate and lay out the bounds of Authority; but it is easie enough to conceive the best use of it, and by which it hath maineined it self in lasting happiness, & hath ever acquired more honour by perswading, than by beating; for as the bonds of Reason and Love are immortal, so do all other chains or cords, both rustie & rot Noble parts of their own Royall and Politick bodies.

Hu. But we will forbear for a while
band to stretch this first string of Ci-
men. vil Justice; for in respect of the
first sort of Men, *to wit*, of those that
live by their own labour, they have
never been displeased where they have
been suffered to enjoy the fruit of their
own travels, *Meum & Tuum*, Mine &
Thine is all wherein they seek their
certaintie & protection. True it is, that
they are the Fruit-Trees of the Land,
which God in *Deuteronomie* comman-
ded to be spared, they gather honey,
and hardly enjoy the wax, and break
the ground with great labour, giving
the best of their grain to the casefull
& idle.

For

Mer. For the second sort, which are the *chan.* Merchants, as the first feed the Kingdome, so do these enrich it, yea their trades, especially those which are forcible, are not the least part of our *Martiall Politie*, as hereafter proved; and to do them right, they have in all ages and times assisted the Kings of this Land, not onely with great sums of money, but with great Fleets of Ships in all their enterprises beyond the seas. The second have seldome or never offended their Princes, to enjoy their trades at home upon tolerable conditions, hath ever contented them for the injuries received from other Nations, give them but the Commission of Reprisal, they will either Right themselves, or sit down with their own lesse without complaint.

Gen. 3. The third sort, which are the *17.* Gentry of *England*, these being neither seated in the lowest grounds, and thereby subject to the biting of every beast, nor in the highest Mountains, & thereby in danger to be torn with tempest; but the Valleys between both, have their parts in the inferiour Iustice, & being spread over all, are the Garrisons of good order throughout the Realm.



Sir WALTER RALEIGH'S
LETTERS.

Sir Walter Raleigh's Letter to Mr Secretary Winwood, before his Journey to Guiana.

Honourable Sir,

I Was lately perswaded, by two Gentlemen, my ancient Friends, to acquaint your Honour with some offers of mine, made heretofore for a Journey to *Guiana*, who were of opinion, That it would be better understood now, than when it was first propounded, which advice having surmounted my dispair, I have presumed to send unto your Honour the Copies of those Letters which I then wrote, both to his Majestie, and to the Treasurer Cecil, wherein as well the reasons

sons that first moved me are remembered, as the objections by him made are briefly answered.

What I know of the riches of that place, not by hear say, but what mine eyes hath seen, I have said it often, but it was then to no end: Because those that had the greatest trust, were resolved not to believe it, not because they doubted the Truth, but because they doubted my Disposition towards themselves; where (if God had blessed me in the enterprise) I had recovered his Majesties favour and good opinion. Other cause than this, or other suspicion they never had any. Our late worthy Prince of Wales was extream curious in searching out the Nature of my offences, The Queens Majestie hath informed her self from the beginning. The King of Denmark at both times of his being here was throughly satisfied of my innocencie, they would otherwise never have moved his Majestie on my behalf.

The Wife, the Brother, and the Son of a King, do not use to sue for men suspect, but Sir, since they all have done it out of their charitie,
and

and but with references to me alone. Your Honour (whose respect hath onely relation to his Majesties service) strengthened by the example of those Princes, may with the more hardnesse do the like, being Princes to whom his Majesties good estate is no lesse dear ; and all men that shall oppugne it, no lesse hatefull, then to the King himself.

It is true Sir, That his Majestie hath sometimes answered, That his Councel knew me better than he did ; meaning some two or three of them, And it was indeed my infelicitie ; for had his Majestie known me, I had never been here where I now am : or had I known his Majestie, they had never been so long there where they now are. His Majestie not knowing of me hath been my ruine, and his Majestie mis-knowing of them, hath been the ruine of a goodly part of his estate : but they are all of them now, some living and some dying, come to his Majesties knowledge. But Sir, how little soever his Majestie knew me, and how much soever he believed them, yet have I been bound to his Majestie both for my Life, and all that remains, of which,
but

but for his Majestie, nor Life, nor ought
else had remained. In this respect Sir,
I am bound to yield up the same life,
and all I have for his Majesties service;
to die for the King, and not by the
King, is all the ambition I have in the
world.

Walter Raleigh.

*Sir Walter Raleigh's Letter to his
Wife, from Guiana.*

Sweet Heart,

I Can yet write unto you but with a
weak hand, for I have suffered the
most violent Calenture for fifteen
days, that ever man did, and lived:
but God that gave me a strong heart in
all my adversities, hath also now
strengthened it in the hell fire of
heat.

We have had two most grievous
sicknesses in our Ship, of which fourtie
two have died, and there are yet many
sick. but having recovered the land of
Guiana, this 14 of November, I hope
we shall recover them. We are yet two
hun-

hundred men, and the rest of our Fleet are reasonable strong, strong enough I hope to perform what we have undertaken, if the diligent care at *London*, to make our strength known to the Spanish King by his Ambassadour, have not taught the Spanish King to fortifie all the enterances against us; howsoever we must make the adventure, and if we perish, it shall be no honour for *England*, nor gain for his Majestie to loose among many other, an hundred as valiant Gentlemen as *England* hath in it.

Of Captain Baylies base coming from us at the *Canaries*, see a Letter of Remisbes to Mr. covy, & of the unnatural weather, storms & rains and winds. He hath in the same letter, given a touch of the way that hath ever been sailed in fourteen days, now hardly performed in fourtie days; God I trust, will give us comfort in that which is to come.

In passage to the *Canaries*, I stayed at *Gomerah*, where I took water in peace, because the Countrey durst not denie it me; I received there of an English race, a Present of Oranges, Lemmons, Quinces, & Pome-granates with-
out

out which I could not have lived; those I preserved in fresh sands, and I have of them yet to my great refreshing. Your son had never so good health, having no distemper in all the heat under the Line. All my servants have escaped but *Crab* and my Cook, yet all have had the sickness. *Crofts* and *March*, and the rest are all well. Remember my service to my Lord *Carew*, and Mr Secretarie *Winwood*.

I write not to them, for I can write of nought but miseries: yet of men of sort, we have lost our Serjeant Major, Captain *Pigott*, and his Lieutenants, Captain *Edward Hastings*, who would have died at home, for both his liver, spleen, and brains were rotten. My sons Lieutenants *Payton* and my cousin *Mr. Hews*, *Mr. Morant*, *Mr. Gardiner*, *Mr. Hayward*, Captain *Fennings* the Merchant, *Kemish* of London, and the Master Chyrurgion, *Mr. Refiner*, *Mr. Moor* the Governour of the *Barmoudas*, our Provost Marsh, *W. Steed*, Lieutenant *Vescie*, but to mine inestimable grief, *Hammon* and *Tolb t.* By the next I trust you shall hear better of us, in Gods hands

hands we were, and in him we trust,

This bearer, Captain *Alley*, for his infirmities of his head I have sent back, an honest valiant man, he can deliver you all that is past. Commend me to my worthy friends at *Longbury*, *Se John Leigh* and *Mr. Bowr*, whose Nephew *Knew* is well, and to my cousin *Blundel*, and my most devoted and humble service to her Majestie.

To tell you that I might be here King of the *Indian*, were a vanitie, but my name hath still lived among them: here they feed me with fresh meat, and all that the Countrey yields, all offer to obey me. Commend me to poor *Carew* my son.

From Galliana in Guiana, the 14 of November.

Sir Walter Raleigh's Letter to Sir Ralph Winwood.

SIR,

AS I have not hitherto given you any Account of our proceedings and passages towards the *Indes*, so have I no other subject to write of, than of
the

the greatest misfortunes that ever befell any man: for whereas, for the first, All those that Navigate between *Cape de Verd* and *America*, do passe between fifteen or twentie days at most, we found the wind so contrary, and which are also contrary to nature, so many storms and rains, as we spent six weeks in the passage, by reason whereof, and that in so great heat we wanted water: for at the Isle *Prano* of *Cape de verd*, we lost our Anchours and Cables, and our water Casks, being driven from the Island with a *Hurlicano*, and were like all to have perished. Great sicknesse fell amongst us, and carried away great numbers of our ablest men both for sea and land. The 17 of November, we had sight of *Gurina*, and soon after came to Anchour in five degrees at the River *Galliano*, here we staid till the fourth of December, landed our sick men, set up the Barges and Shal'ops, which were brought out of *England* in quarters, washed our Ships, and took in fresh water, being fed and cherished by the *Indians* of my old acquaintance, with a great deal of love and respect, my self being in the hands of death these 6 weeks, and was not able

able otherwise to move than as I was carried in a chair, gave order to 5 small Ships, to sail into *Grinoque*, having Captain *Kemis* for their Conductor towards the Mynes, and in those five Ships five Companies of 50 under the command of Captain *Parker*, and Captain *North*, brethren to the Lord *Mounteagle* and the Lord *North*, valiant Gentlemen, and of infinite patience for the labour, hunger, and heat which they have endured, my son had the third Company Captain *Thornix* of *Kent* the fourth Company, Captain *(hidley)*, by his Lieutenant, the fifth: but as my Sergeant Major Captain *Piggot* of the *Low Countries* died in the former miserable passage, so my Lieutenant Sir *Warham S. Leicester* lay sick without hope of life, and the charge conferred on my Nephew *George Raleigh*, who had also served long with infinite commendations; but by reason of my absence, and of Sir *Warhams* was not so well obeyed as the Enterprize required. As they passed up the River, the Spaniard began the War, and shot at us both with their Ordinance and Muskets, whereupon the Companies were for-

forced to charge them, and soon after beat them out of the Town. In the assault, my son (more desirous of honour than safetie) was slain, with whom (to say truth) all the respects of this world have taken end in me. And although these five Captains had as weak Companies as ever followed valiant Leaders, yet were there amongst them some twentie or thirtie valiant adventurous Gentlemen, and of singular courage, as of my sons Companie, *Mr. Knuvet, Mr. Hammon, Mr. Longworth, Mr. Iohn Pleasington*; his Officers, *Sir Iohn Hamden*; *Mr. Symon Leak* Corporall of the Field, *Mr. Hammon* the elder Brother, *Mr. Nicholas of Buckingham, Mr. Roberts of Kent, Mr. Perin, Mr. Tresham, Mr. Mullinax, Mr. Winter* and his brother, *Mr. Wray, Mr. Miles Herbars, Mr. Bradshaw, Capt. Hill*, and others.

Sir, I have set down the names of these Gentlemen, to the end, that if his Majestie shall have cause to use their service, it may please you to take notice of them for very sufficient Gentlemen. The other five Ships staid at *Trinidado*, having no other Port capable for them near *Guiana*. The
le-

second Ship was commanded by my Vice Admirall Capt. *John Pennington*, of whom (to do him right) he is one of the sufficientest Gentlemen for the Sea that *England* hath. The third by *Sir Warham S. Leiger*, an exceeding valiant and worthy Gentleman. The fourth by *Sir John Fern*. The fifth by Captain *Chidley* of *Devon*. With these five Ships I daily attended their Armado of *Spain*, which had they set upon us, our force divided, the one half in *Orinoque*, an hundred and fiftie miles from us, we had not onely been torn in pieces, but all those in the River had also perished, being of no force at all for the Sea fight; for we had resolved to have been burnt by their sides, had the Armado arrived: but belike, they staid for us at *Margat*, by which they knew we must passe towards the *Indies*; for it pleased his Majestie to value us at so little, as to command me upon my Alleageance, to set down under my hand the Countrey, and the River by which I was to enter it; to set down the number of my men, and burthen of my Ships, and what Ordinance every Ship carried, which being known to the *Spanish* Ambassadour, and by him

to the King of Spain, a dispatch was made, and letters sent from *Madrid*, before my departure out of the *Tbames*; for his first letter sent by a Barque of Advise, was dated the 19 of *March* 1617. at *Madrid*, which letter I have here inclosed sent to your Honour, the rest I reserve, not knowing whether they may be intercepted or not. The second by the King, dated the second of *May*, sent also by a Colonel of *Diego de Polonique*, Governour of *Guiana*, *Elderedo*. and *Trinidad*. The third by the Bishop of *Povericho*, and delivered to *Polonique* the 15 of *July*, at *Trinidad*. And the fourth was sent from the Farmer and Secretary of his Customs in the *Indies*. At the same time, by that of the Kings hand, sent by the Bishop, there was also a Commission for the speedie levying of three hundred souldiers, and ten pieces of Ordinance to be sent frō *Portricho*, for the defence of *Guiana*, an hundred & fiftie from *Nuevo Remo de Grando*, under the command of Captain *Anbony Musica*, and the other hundred and fiftie from *Portricho*, to be conducted by *C. Franc. Laudio*.

Now Sir, if all that have traded to

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the

the *Indies* since his Majesties time knew that the Spaniards have slayed alive all the poor men which they have taken, being but Merchant men, what death and cruel torment shall we expect if they conquer us? certainly they have hitherto failed grossly, being set out thence as we were, both for number, time, and place.

Lastly, to make an Apologie for not working the Myne, (although I know his Majestie expects) whom I am to satisfie so much, as my self, having lost my son, and my estate in the Enterprise, yet it is true, that the Spaniards took more care to defend the passage leading unto it, than they did the Town, which by the Kings instructions they might easily do, the Countreys being *Aspera & Nemosa*.

But it is true, that when Capt. *Kemish* found the River low, and that he could not approach the Banks in most places near the Myne by a Mile, and where he found a discent, a volley of Muskets. come from the woods upon the Boat, and slew two Rowers, and hurt six others, and shot a valiant Gentleman of Captain *Thornix*, of which wound he languisheth to this

this day. He, to wit, *Kemish*, following his own advice, thought that it was in vain to discover the Myne; for he gave me this for an excuse at his return, that the Companies of English in the Town of *S. Thome* were not able to defend it, against the daily and nightly assaults of the Spaniards, that the passages to the Mynes, were thick and unpassable woods, and that the Myne being discovered, they had no men to work it, did not discover it at all: for it is true, the Spaniards having two gold Mynes near the Town, the one possessed by *Pedro Rodrigo de Paran*, the second by *Harmian Frotnio*, the third of silver, by Captain *Francisco*, for the want of *Negroes* to work them: for as the *Indians* cannot be constrained by a Law of *Charls* the Fifth, so the *Spaniards* will not, nor can endure the labour of those Mynes, whatsoever the *Bragadochio*, the *Spanish* Ambassador saith. I shall prove under the Proprietors hand, by the Custom-Book, and the Kings *Quinto*, of which I recovered an Ingot or two: I shall also make it appear to any Prince or State that will undertake it, how easily those Mynes, and five or six more

of them may be possessed, and the most of them in those parts, which never have as yet been attempted by any, nor by any passage to them, nor ever discovered by the English, French, or Dutch. But at *Kemish* his return from *Oranogut*, when I rejected his counsel and his course, and told him that he had undone me; and wounded my credit with the King past recovery, he slew himself: for I told him, that seeing my son was slain, I cared not if I had lost an hundred more in opening of the Myne, so my credit had been saved: for I protest before God, had not Capt. *Whitney* (to whom I gave more countenance than to all the Captains of my Fleet) run from me at the *Granadoes*, and carried another ship with him of Captain *Wolfeftons*, I would have left my body at *S. Thomas* by my sons, or have brought with me out of that or other Mynes, so much Gold-oar, as should have satisfied the King. I propounded no vain thing; what shall become of me I know not, I am unpardoned in *England*, and my poor estate consumed, and whether any Prince will give me bread or no I know not. I desire your Honour to hold me in your good opinion, to remember my service to my
L ord

Lord of *Arundel* and *Pembroke*, to take some pity on my poor Wife, to whom I dare not write for renewing her sorrow for her son; and beseech you to give a copie of this to my Lord *Cicero*: for to a broken mind, a sick bodie, and weak eyes, it is a torment to write many Letters. I have found many things of importance for discovering the state and weaknesse of the *Indies*, which if I live, I shall hereafter impart unto your Honour, to whom I shall remain a faithfull servant.

Walter Raleigh

Sir Walter Raleigh's Letter sent to his Wife, Copied out of his own hand writing.

I Was loath to write, because I know not how to comfort you, and God knows, I never knew what sorrow meant till now. All that I can say to you is, that you must obey the will and providence of God, and remember, that the *Queens* Majestie bare the losse of *Prince Henry* with a magnanimous heart.

heart, and the Ladie *Harrington* of her son. Comfort your heart (dearest *Bess*) I shall sorrow for us both, I shall sorrow the lesse, because I have not long to sorrow, because not long to live. I refer you to Mr. Secretarie *Winwoods* Letter, who will give you a copie of it, if you send for it, therein you shall know what hath passed; I have written that Letter, for my brains are broken, and it is a torment for me to write, and especially of misery. I have desired Mr. Secretarie to give my Lord *Carew* a copie of his Letter. I have censed my ship of sick men, and sent them home; I hope God will send us somewhat before we return. You shall hear from me if I live, from the New found land, where I mean to make clean my ships and revictual; for I have Tobacco enough to pay for it. The Lord bleste and comfort you, that you may bear patiently the death of your valiant son

This 22. of March, from the Isle of Christophers, yours Walter Raleigh.

Post-script.

I Protest before the Majestie of God, That as Sir *Francis Drake*,
and

and Sir *John Hawkins* died heart broken when they failed of their enterprise, I could willingly do the like, did I not contend against sorrow for your sake, in hope to provide somewhat for you and to comfort and relieve you. If I live to return, resolve your self that it is the care for you that hath strengthened my heart. It is true that *Kemish* might have gone directly to the Myne, and meant it, but after my sons death, he made them believe he knew not the way, and excused himself upon want of water in the River, and counterfeiting many impediments left it unsound. When he came back, I told him he had undone me, and that my credit was lost for ever; he answered, That when my son was lost, and that he left me so weak, that he resolved not to find me alive, he had no reason to enrich a companie of Rascals, who after my sons death made no account of him. He further told me that the English sent up into *Guiana*, could hardly defend the Spanish town of *S. Thome* which they had taken, and therefore for them to passe through thick woods it was impossible, and more impossible to have victuall brought

them into the Mountains And it is true, that the Governour *Diego Pelaez*, and other four Captains being slain, whereof *Wat* slew one, *Plessington*, *Wat*'s servant, and *John of Moroccos*, one of his men, slew other two. I say five of them slain in the enterance of the Town, the rest went off in a whole bodie, and took more care to defend the passages to their Mynes (of which they had three within a League of the Town, besides a Myne that was about five miles off) than they did of the Town it self. Yet *Kemish* at the first was resolved to go to the Myne; but when he came to the banck-side to Land, and had two of his men slain outright from the bank, and six other hurt, and Captain *Thorn* shot in the head, of which wound, and the accident thereof, he hath pined away these twelve weeks.

Now when *Kemish* came back and gave me the former Reasons which moved him not to open the Myne, the one the death of my son, a second the weaknesse of the English, and their impossibilities to work and to be victualled; a third that it were a folly to discover it for the Spaniards; and lastly my weaknesse and being unpardoned; and

and that I rejected all these his Arguments, and told him, that I must leave him to himself to resolve it to the King and State, he shut up himself into his Cabbin, and shot himself with a pocket Pistol which broke one of, his ribs, and finding that he had not prevailed, he thrust a long Knife under his short ribs up to the handle and died. Thus much I have written to Mr Secretarie, to whose Letters I refer you to know the truth. I did after the sealing break open the Letter again, to let you know in brief the state of that business, which I pray you impart to my Lord of Northumberland, and Silvanus Scory.

For the rest, there was never poor man so exposed to slaughter as I was; for being commanded upon mine Allegiance to set down not onely the Cou-trey but the very River by which I was to enter it, to name my Ships number, men, and my Artillerie. This now was sent by the Spanish Ambassador to his Master the King of Spain, the King wrote his Letters to all parts of the Indies, especially to the Governour Palamago of Guiana, Eldorado, and Trinidad, of which the

first Letter bore date 19 of March 1617, at *Maurill*, when I had not yet left the Thames, which Letter I have sent to Mr Secretarie. I have also other Letters of the Kings which I reserve, and one of the Councels. The King also sent a Commission to leave three hundred souldiers out of his Garrisons of *unie Regno de Granado e Portricho*, with ten pieces of brasse Ordinance to entertain us; he also prepared an Army by sea to set upon us. It were too long to tell you how we were preserved, if I live I shall make it known; my brains are broken, and I cannot write much, I live yet, and I to'd you why. *Witney* for whom I sold all my Plate at *Plymouth*, and to whom I gave more credit and countenance than to all the Captains of my Fleet, ran from me at the *Granadoes*, and *wolleston* with him, so as I have now but five Ships, and out of those I have sent some into my Fly boat, a rabble of idle Rascals, which I know will not spare to wound me, but I care not. I am sure there is never a base slave in all the Fleet hath taken the pain and care that I have done, that have slept so little, and travelled so much, my friends

friends will not believe them, and for the rest I care not; God in heaven bleſſe you and ſtrengthen your heart.

Yours

Walter Raleigh.

*Sir Walter Raleigh's Letter to
Mr Secretary Winwood.*

S I R,

SINCE the death of *Kemish*, it is confeſſed by the Serjeant Major, and others of his inward friends, that he told them that he could have brought them unto the Myne within two houſes March from the River ſide; but becauſe my ſon was ſlain, my ſelf unpardoned, and not like to live, he had no reaſon to open the Myne either for the Spaniard or for the King; they answered, that the King (though I were not pardoned) had granted my heart under the Great Seal. He replied, that the grant to me was to no man, *non*
Est

Was in the Law, and therefore of no force; this discourse they had, which I knew not of till after his death: but when I was resolved to write unto your Honour, he prayed me to joyn with him in excusing his not going to the Myne, I answered him I would not do it; but if my self could satisfie the King and State, that he had reason not to open it, I should be glad of it: but for my part, I must avow that he knew it, and that he might with loss have done it; other excuses I would not frame: he told me that he would wait on me presently, and give me better satisfaction: but I was no sooner come from him into my Cabbin, but I heard a Pistol go over my head, and sending to know who shot it, word was brought me that *Kemish* shot it out of his Cabbin window to cleanse it; his boy going into his Cabbin, found him lying upon his bed with much bloud by him, and looking in his face saw him dead; the Pistol being but little, did but crack his rib, but turning him over found a long Knife in his bodie, all but the handle. Sir I have sent into *England* with my cosin *Marbert* (a very valiant honest Gentleman)

man) divers unworthy persons, good for nothing neither by sea nor land, and though it was at their own suit, yet I know they will wrong me in all that they can. I beseech your Honour, that the scorn of men may not be believed of me, who have taken more pains, and suffered more than the meanest Rascall in the Ship; these being gone, I shall be able to keep the sea untill the end of *August*, with some four reasonable good ships. Sir, wheresoever God shall permit me to arrive in any part of Europe, I will not fail to let your Honour know what we have done, till then, and ever I rest

Your Honours.

Servant

W. Raleigh.

Sir

SIR WALTER RALEIGH'S

Letter to

King JAMES,

at his return from

GUIANA.

May it please your most excellent Majesty,

IF in my Journey outward bound, I had my men murdered at the Islands, & yet spared to take revenge, if I did discharge some Spanish Barks taken without spoil, if I do bear all parts of the Spanish *Indies*, wherein I might have taken twentie of their Downs on the sea coasts, and did onely follow the enterprize I undertook for *Guiana*, where without any directions from me, a Spanish Village was burnt, which was new set up within three miles of the Myne. By your Majesties favour, I find no reason why the Spanish Ambassador should complain of me. If it were lawfull for the Spaniards to murder twentie six English

glish men, tying them back to back, and then cutting their throats, when they had traded with them a whole moneth, and came to them on the land without so much as one sword, and that it may not be lawfull for your Majesties subjects, being charged first by them, to repell force by force, we may justly say, O miserable *English*!

If *Pucker* and *Neibum* took *Campearb* and other places in the *Honduraes*, seated in the heart of the Spanish *Indies*, burnt Towns, and killed the Spaniards, and had nothing said unto them at their return, and my self forbore to look into the *Indies*; because I would not offend, I may as justly say, O miserable Sir *Walter Raleigh*!

It I have spent my poor estate, lost my son, suffered by sicknesse and otherwise a world of miseries; if I have resisted with manifest hazard of my life, the Robberies and Spoils, with which my Companions would have made me rich, if when I was poor, I would have made my self rich, if when I have gotten my liberty, which all men and nature it self do much prize, I voluntarily lost it, it when I was sure of my life, I rendered it again, if I might else-
where

where have sold my ship and goods, and put five or six thousand pounds in my purse, and yet brought her into *England*, I beseech your Majestie to believe, that all this I have done, because it should not be said to your Majestie, that your Majestie had given libertie and trust to a man whose end was but the recoverie of his libertie, and who had betrayed your Majesties trust.

My Mutiniers told me, that if I returned from *England* I should be undone, but I believed in your Majesties goodnesse more than in all their arguments. Sure, I am the first that being free and able to enrich my self; yet hath embraced povertie and perill. And as sure I am, that my example shall make me the last: but your Majesties wisdom and goodnesse I have made my judges, who have ever been, and shall ever be,

Your Majesties

most humble Vassal

Walter Raleigh.

Sir

*Sir Walter Raleigh's Letter to
his Wife, after his Condemna-
tion.*

YOU shall receive (my dear Wife) my Last words in these my Last lines; my love I send you, that you may keep when I am dead, and my countell, that you may remember it when I am no more. I would not with my will present you sorrows (dear *Bets*) let them go to the grave with me, and be buried in the dust. And seeing that it is not the will of God that I shall see you any more, bear my destruction patiently, and with an heart like your self.

First I send you all the thanks which my heart can conceive, or my words expresse, for your many travels and cares for me, which though they have not taken effect as you wished, yet my debt to you is not the lesse; but pay it I never shall in this world.

Secondly, I beseech you, for the love you bare me living, that you do not hide your self many days, but by your travels seek to help my miserable Fortunes, and the Right of your poor
Child,

Child, your mourning cannot avail me
that am but dust.

Thirdly, you shall understand, that
my Lands were conveyed (*bona fide*)
to my Child, the writings were drawn
at Midsummer was twelve moneths,
as divers can witnesse, and I trust
my blood will quench their malice
who desired my slaughter, that they
will not seek also to kill you and yours
with extream poverty. To what friend
to direct you I know not, for all mine
have left me in the true time of tri-
all. Most sorrie am I, that being
thus surprised by death, I can leave
you no better Estate, God hath pre-
vented all my determinations, that
great God which worketh all in all,
and if you can live free from want,
care for no more, for the rest is
but a vanitie: Love God, and begin
betimes, in him you shall find true,
everlasting, and endlesse comfort,
when you have travelled and wearied
your self with all sorts of worldly
cogitations, you shall sit down by sorrow
in the end Teach your son also to serve
and fear God whilest he is young, that
the fear of God may grow up in him;
then will God be an Husband to you,
and

and a Father to him, an Husband and a Father, that can never be taken from you.

Baylie oweth me a thousand pounds, and *Aryan* fix hundred; in *Jernesey* also I have much owing me. (Dear wife) I beseech you, for my Soules sake, pay all poor men. When I am dead, no. doubt you shall be much sought unto, for the world thinks I was very rich; have a care to the fair pretences of men, for no greater miserie can befall you in this life, than to become a prey unto the world, and after to be despised. I speak (God knows) not to dissuade you from Marriage, for it will be best for you, both in respect of God and the world. As for me, I am no more yours, nor you mine, death hath cut us asunder, and God hath divided me from the world, and you from me. Remember your poor Child for his Fathers sake, who loved you in his happiest estate. I sued for my life, but (God knows) it was for you and yours that I desired it: for, know it, (my dear Wife) your Child is the Child of a true man, who in his own respect despiseth Death and his misshapen and ugly forms. I cannot write much,

much, (God knows) how hardly I steal
 this time when all sleep, and it is also
 time for me to separate my thoughts
 from the world. Beg my dead body,
 which living was denied you, and ei-
 ther lay it in *Sh-burn* or in *Exceser*
 Church by my father and mother. I
 can say no more, Time and Death cal-
 leth me away. The everlasting God,
 powerfull, infinite, and inscrutable
 God Almighty, who is goodnesse it
 self, the true Light and Life, keep you
 and yours, and have mercy upon me,
 and forgive my Persecutors and false
 accusers, and send us to meet in his
 glorious kingdom. My dear Wife fare-
 well, Blesse my Boy, Pray for me, and
 let my true God hold you both in his
 Arms.

Yours that was, but

now not mine own

Walter Ra'eigh.

Sir

Sir Walter Raleigh's Letter to
Prince Henry, touching the mo-
del of a Ship.

Most excellent Prince,

IF the Ship your Highness intends to build, be bigger than the *Victorie*, then her beams, which are laid overthwart from side to side will not serve again, and many other of her timbers and other stuff, will not serve, whereas if she be a size less, the timber of the old Ship will serve well to the building of a new.

If she be bigger she will be of less use, go very deep to water, and of mightie charge, our Channels decay-
ing every year, less nimble, less man-
nyable, and seldom to be used *Gran-
de Navio grande fatica* saith the Spa-
niard.

A Ship of six hundred Tuns, will
carrie as good Ordinance as a Ship of
twelve hundred Tuns, and where the
greater hath double her Ordinance,
the less will turn her broad side twice,
before the great Ship can wind
once,

once, and so no advantage in that overplus of Guns. The lesser will go over clear where the greater shall stick and perish; the lesser will come and go, leave or take, and is yare, whereas the greater is slow, unmanyable, and ever full of encumber.

In a well conditioned Ship, these things are chiefly required.

1. That she be strong built.
2. Swift in sail.
3. Stout-sided.
4. That her Ports be so laid, as that she may carry out her Guns all weathers.
5. That she hull and trie well.
6. That she stay well, when boarded, or turning on a wind is required.

To make her strong, consisteth in the care and truth of the work-man; to make her swift, is to give her a large Run, or way forward, and so afterward, done by art and just proportion, and that in laying out of her bowes before, and quarters behind; the Shipwright be sure, that she neither sink nor hang into the water, but lie clear and above it, wherein Shipwrights do often fail, and then is the speed in sailing utterly spoiled.

That

That she be stout-sided, the same is provided by a long bearing floor, and by sharing off from above waters to the lower edge of the Ports, which done, then will she carry out her Ordinance all weathers.

To make her to hull and to trie well, which is called a good sea-Ship, there are two things principally to be regarded, the one that she have a good draught of water, the other that she be not overcharged: And this is seldom done in the Kings Ships, and therefore we are forced to lye, or trie in them with our main Course and mizen, which with a deep keel and standing streak, she would perform.

The extreme length of a Ship makes her unapt to stay, especially if she be floatie and want sharpnesse of way forward. And it is most true, that such over-long Ships, are fitter for the narrow Seas in summer, than for the Ocean, or long voyages: and therefore an hundred foot by the Keel, and thirtie five foot broad is a good proportion for a great Ship.

It is to be noted, that all Ships sharp before, not having a long floor, will fall rough into the sea from a bil-

billow, and take in water over head and ears; and the same quality have all narrow-quartered ships to sink after the tail. The high Charging of ships, is that that brings many ill qualities, it makes them extream Lee-ward, makes them sink deep into the seas, makes them labour sore in foul weather, and oft-times overset. Safety is more to be respected than shews, or nicenesse for eale; in sea journeys both cannot well stand together, and therefore the most necessary is to be chosen.

Two Decks and an half is enough, and no building at all above that, but a low Masters Cabb'n. Our Masters and Mariners will say, that the ships will bear more well enough; and true it is, if none but ordinary Mariners served in them. But men of better sort, unused to such a life, cannot so well endure the rowling and tumbling from side to side, where the seas are never so little grown, which comes by high Charging. Besides those high Cabb'n-works aloft, are very dangerous in fight, to tear men with their splinters.

Above all other things, have care that the great Guns be four foot clear

above water when all lading is in, or
 else these best pieces are idle at sea: for
 if the Ports lie lower, and be open it is
 dangerous; and by that default was a
 goodly Ship, and many gallant Gen-
 tlemen lost, in the days of *Henry the*
Eighth, before the Isle of *Wight*, in a
 Ship called by the name of *Mary-*
Rose.

Sir

K



Sir *Walter Raleighs*

PILGRIMAGE

Give me my Scallop shell of Quiet,
 My Staff of Faith to walk upon;
 My Scrip of Joy immortall Diet;
 My Bottle of Salyation.
 My Gown of Glorie (Hopes true gage)
 And thus Ile take my *Pilgrimage*.
 Bloud must be my Bodies onely Balmer,
 No other Balm will there be given
 Whil'st my Soul, like a quiet Palmer,
 Travelleth towards the Land of Heaven
 Over the silver Mountains
 Where springs the Nectar Fountains,
 There I will kisse the Bowl of Blisse,
 And drink mine everlasting fill
 Upon every Milken hill.
 My Soul will be a drie before,
 But after, it will thirst no more.
 Ile take them first to quench my Thirst,
 And tast of Nectars suckers,
 At those clear Wells
 Where sweetnesse dwells,
 Drawn up by Saints in Chrystal Buckets.
 Then by that happy blestfull day,
 More peacefull Pilgrims I shall see,
 That have cast off their rags of clay,
 And walk apparelled fresh like me,
 And when our Bowles and all we
 Are fill'd with immortalitie,

Then

Then the blessed Parts wee'l travell,
 Strow'd with Rubies thick as gravell,
 Sealings of Diamonds, Saphire flowers,
 High walls of Coral, and Pearly Bowers.
 From thence to Heavens bribeless Hall,
 Where no corrupted voices brawl,
 No Conscience molten into Gold,
 No forg'd Accuser bought or sold,
 No cause deferr'd, no vain-spent lourny,
 For there, *CHRIST* is the Kings Attorney;
 Who pleads for all without degrees,
 And he hath Angels, but no Fees:
 And when the twelve Grand-million lury
 Of our Sins, with direfull furie,
 'Gainst our Souls black Verdicts give,
 Christ pleads his Death, & then we Live.
 Be thou my Speaker [taintless Pleader,
 Unblotted Lawyer, true Proceeder.]
 Thou would'st Salvation even for Alms,
 Not with a bribed Lawyers Palms.
 And this is mine eternall Plea
 To him that made Heaven, Earth & Sea,
 That since my Flesh must die so soon,
 And want a Head to dine next noon,
 Iust at the stroak, when my Veins start &
 spread,
 Set on my Soul an everlasting Head.
 Then am I ready, like a Palmer fit (writ.
 To tread those blest Paths which before I
 Of Death & Judgement, Heaven & Hell,
 Who oft doth think, must needs Die wel.



Sir Walter Raleigh's

V E R S E S ;

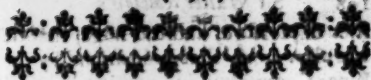
Found in his *Bible* in the
Gate-house at West-
minster.

EVEN such is Time, which takes in trust
Our Youth, our Ioyes, and all we have,
And pays us nought but Age and Dust,
When in the dark and silent Grave:
When we have wandred all our ways,
Shuts up the storie of our days:
And from which Grave, & Earth, & Dust,
The Lord shall raise me up I trust.

Sir W. RALEIGH,
On the Snuff of a Candle
The night before he died.

Cowards fear to Die, but Courage stout,
Rather than Live in Snuff, wil be put out.

Sir



SIR WALTER RALEIGH'S

S P E E C H

*Immediately before he
was beheaded.*

UPON Simon and Judes day,
the Lieutenant of the Tower
had a Warrant to bring
his Prisoner to the Kings
Bench in Westminster-Hall, where the
Attorney Generall demanded Execution,
according to the Iudgement pronounced
against him at Worcester, the
Lord Chief Justice caused the Indictment,
Verdict, and Iudgement to be
read, and after asked him, what he
could say, Why he should not die according
to the Law; his answer was,
That this fifteen years he had lived by
the meer mercy of the King, and did
now wonder how his Mercy was turned
into Iustice, he not knowing any thing
wherein he had provoked his Maje-

ties displeasure, and did hope, that he was clear from that Iudgement by the Kings Commission in making him Generall of the Voyage to *Guiana*, for (as he conceived) the words, *To his truly and well beloved subject, &c.* Did in themselves imply a Pardon. But Master Attorney told him, these words were not sufficient for that purpose. Whereupon he desired the opinion of the Court, to which the Lord Chief Iustice replied, it was no Pardon in Law.

Then began Sir Walter Raleigh to make a long description of the events and ends of his Voyage, but he was interrupted by the Chief Iustice, who told him, that it was not for any offence committed there, but for his first fact that he was now called in question, and thereupon told him, That seeing he must prepare to die, he would not add affliction to affliction, nor aggravate his fault, knowing him to be a man full of misery; but with the good *Samaritan*e administer oyl and wine for the comfort of his distressed Soul. You have been a Generall, and a great Commander, imitate therefore that noble Captain, who thrusting himself
in.

into the middest. of a Battell, cried aloud, *Mors me Expectat, & ego Mortem Expectabo*, as you should not condemn so to do, nor should you fear death, the one sheweth too much boldnesse, the other no lesse cowardize, so with some other few instructions the Court arose, and Sir Walter was committed into the hands of the Sheriff of *Middlesex*, who presently conveyed him to the Gate-house in *Westminster*.

Upon Thursday morning this Courageous, although Committed Knight, was brought before the Parliament-house, where there was a Scaffold erected for his Beheading: yet it was doubted over night that he should be hanged, but it fell out otherwise. He had no sooner mounted the scaffold, but with a chearfull Countenance, and undaunted Look, he saluted the Company. His Attire was a wrought Night-cap, a Ruff band, a hair-coloured Sattin Doublet, with a black wrought Watte-coat under it, a pair of black cut Taffery Breeches, a pair of ash-coloured Silk Stockings, & a wrought black Velvet Night gown; putting off his Hat, he directed his Speech to the Lords present, as followeth.

My honourable Lords, and the rest of my good friends that come to see me die, Know, that I much rejoyce that it hath pleased God to bring me from darknesse to light, and in freeing me from the Tower, wherein I might have died in disgrace, by letting me live to come to this place, where though I lose my life, yet I shall clear some false accusations, unjustly laid to my charge, and leave behind me a testimony of a true heart, both to my King and Country.

Two things Two things there are which Sir W. R. have exceedingly posst and leigh acc. is provoked his Majesties indignation against me, viz. A

Confederacie, or Combination with France, and disloyall and disobedient words of my Prince. For the first, his Majestic had some cause, though ground-
 ed upon a weak foundation, to suspect mine inclination to the French action, for not long before my departure from England, the French Agent took occasion, passing by my house, to visit me, had some conference, during the time of his abode, onely concerning my voyage, and nothing else, I take God to witness.

Another suspicion is had of me, because I did labour to make an escape from Ply-

Plymouth to France, I cannot deny, but that willingly, when I heard a rumour, That there was no hope of my Life upon my return to London, I would have escaped for the safeguard of my Life, and not for any ill intent or conspiracie against the State.

The like reason of suspicion arose, in that I perswaded Sir Lewis Steukly, my Guardian, to flee with me from London to France, but my Answer to this is, as to the other, That onely for my safeguard, and nought else, was my intent, as I shall answer before the Almighty.

It is alleadged, That I feigned my self sick, and by art made my body full of blisters when I was at Salisbury. True it is, I did so; the reason was, because I hoped thereby to defer my coming before the King and Councell, and so by delaying, might have gained time to have got my Pardon. I have an Example out of Scripture for my warrant, that in case of necessity, and for the safeguard of my life, David feigned himself foolish and mad, yet it was not imputed to him for sin.

Concerning the second Imputation laid to my charge, that I should speak scandalous and reprochfull words of my Prince, there is no witnesse against me but onely one,

202 Sir Walter Raleigh's Speech.

one, and he a Chemicall French-man, whom I entertained, rather for his Jest than his Judgement: this man to inroach himself into the favour of the Lords, and gaping after some great reward, hath falsely accused me of Seditious speeches against his Majestie; against whom, if I did either speak, or think a thought hurtfull or prejudiciall, the Lord blot me out of the book of Life.

It is not a time to flatter or fear Princes, for I am a subject to none but Death; therefore have a charitable conceit of me. That I know to swear is an offence, to swear falsely at any time is a great sin, but to swear false before the presence of Almighty God, before whom I am forthwith to appear, were an offence unpardonable; therefore think me not now rashly, or untruly to confirm, or protest any thing.

As for other objections, in that I was brought perforce into England, that I carried sixteen thousand pounds in money out of England with me, more than I made known; that I should receive Letters from the French King, and such like, with many Protestations he utterly denied.

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The
PREROGATIVE
OF
PARLIAMENTS
In
ENGLAND.

Proved
In a Dialogue between a
Counsellour of State, and
a Iustice of Peace.

*Written by the worthy Knight. Sir W A L-
TER RALEIGH,*

Dedicated to that part of the
Parliament now assembled.

*Preserved to be now happily (in
these distracted Times) Published.*

LONDON,

Printed for William Sheares Junior,
in Westminster Hall. 1657.

REPORTS
OF
PARLIAMENTS

IN
1842

1842

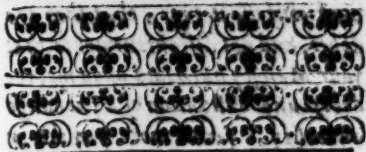
In a 10-volume / bound in 2
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LONDON

Printed for William Storer, Stationer,
in Westminster Hall, 1842



To the
K I N G.

Most gracious Sovereign :

THose that are suppressed
and helpelesse are com-
monly silent, wishing
that the common ill in
all sort might be with
their particular misfortunes: which
disposition; as it is uncharitable in
all man, so would it be in me more
dogge-like then man-like, to bite
the stone that strooke me: (to wit)
the borrowed authority of my So-
veraigne misinformed, seeing their
armes and hands that slay it, are
most of them already rotten. For I

must confesse it ever, that they are debts, and not discontentments, that your Majesty hath laid upon me; the debts and obligation of a friendlesse adversity, farre more payable in all Kinds, then those of the prosperous: All which, nor the least of them, though I cannot discharge, I may yet endeavour it.

And notwithstanding my restraint hath retrenched all wayes, as well the wayes of labour and will, as of all other employments, yet hath it left with me my cogitations, then which I have nothing else to offer on the Altar of my Love.

Of those (most gracious Soveraigne) I have used some part in the following dispute, between a Counsellour of Estate, and a Iustice of Peace, the one dissuading, the other perswading the calling of a Parliament. In all which, since the Norman Conquest (at the least so many, as Histories have gathered) I have in
some

some things in the following Dialogue presented your Majesty with the contentions and successes.

Some things there are, and those of the greatest, which because they ought first to be resolved on, I thought fit to range them in the front of the rest, to the end your Majesty may be pleased to examine your own great and Princely hearts of their acceptance, or refusall.

The first is, that supposition, that your Majesties Subjects give nothing but with adjection of their own interest, interlacing in one, and the same act your Majesties reliefe, and their own liberties; not that your Majesties piety was ever suspected, but because the best Princes are ever the least jealous, your Majesty judging others by your self, who have abused your Majesties trust. The fear'd continuance of the like abuse may perswade the provision. But this caution, how ever it seem.

eth at first sight, your Majesty shall perceive by many examples following but frivolous. The bonds of Subjects to their Kings should alwayes be wrought out of Iron, the bonds of Kings unto Subjects but with Cobwebs.

This it is (most renowned Sovereigne) that this trafficke of assurances hath been often urged, of which, if the Conditions had been easie, our Kings have as easily kept them; if hard and prejudiciall, either to their honours or estates, the Creditours have been paid their debts with their own presumption.

For all binding of a King by Law upon the advantage of his necessity, makes the breach it self lawfull in a King, His Charters and all other instruments being no other then the surviving witnesses of unconstrained will: *Princeps non subicitur nisi sua voluntate*

tate libera, mero motu & certa
Scientia: Necessary words in all
the grants of a King witnessing
that the same grants were given
freely and knowingly.

The second resolution will rest in
your Majesty, leaving the new im-
positions, all Monopolies, and o-
ther grievances of the people to the
consideration of the House, Provided,
that your Majesties revenue be
not abated, which if your Majesty
shall refuse, it is thought that the
disputes will last long, and the is-
sues will be doubtfull: And on the
contrary if your Majesty vouchsafe
it, it may perchance be stiled a
yeelding, which seemeth by the
sound to brave the Regalty.

But (most excellent Prince) what
other is it to ab' eares of the Wise,
but as the sound of a trumpet, ha-
ving blasted forth a false Alarme,
becomes but common aire? Shall the
head yeeld to the feet? certainly it

ought, when they are grieved, for wisdom will rather regard the commodity, then object the disgrace, seeing if the feet lye in fetters, the head cannot be freed, and where the feet feele but their own paines, the head doth not onely suffer by participation, but withall by consideration of the evill.

Certainly the point of honour well weighed hath nothing in it to even the ballance, for by your Majesties favour, your Majesty doth not yeeld either to any person, or to any power, but to a dispute onely, in which the Proposition and Minor prove nothing without a conclusion, which no other person or power can make, but a Majesty: yea, this in Henry the third his time was called a wisdom incomparable. For, the King raised again recovery his authority: For, being in that extremity as he was driven with the Queen and his Children, Cum Abba.

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Abbatibus & Prioribus satis
humilibus hospitia quærere
& prandia : For the rest , may
it please your Majesty to consider
that there can nothing befall
your Majesty in matters of af-
faires more unfortunately, then the
Commons of Parliament with ill
successe : A dishonour so perswa-
sive and adventurous as it will not
onely find arguments ; but it will
take the leading of all enemies that
shall offer themselves against your
Majesties estate.

Le Tabourin de la paurete ne
faict point de breuct : of which
dangerous disease in Princes , the
remedy doth chiefly consist in the
love of the people , which how it
may be had & held, no man knowes
better then your Majesty ; how to
loose it , all men know , and know
that it is lost by nothing more then
by the defence of others in wrong
doing. The onely motives of mi-

A S schances



substances that ever come to Kings of
this Land since the Conquest.

It is onely love (most renowned
Soveraign) must prepare the way
for your Majesties following desires.
It is love which obeyes, which suf-
fers, which gives, which sticks at
nothing; which Love, as well of
your Majesties people, as the love of
God to your Majesty, that it may
alwayes hold shall be the continual
prayers of your Majesties most
humble vassall,

Walter Raleigh.



A DIALOGUE

Between a
COUNSELLOUR

of
STATE,

And a

JUSTICE

of
PEACE.

COUNSELLOUR.

NOW Sir, what think you
of M. S. Iobns tryall in
Star-Chamber? I know
that the bruit ranne that
he was hardly dealt with-
all, because he was imprisoned in the
Tower, seeing his disswaſſion from
granting a Benevolence to the King
was warranted by the Law.

JUSTICE. Surely Sir it was
made

made manifest at the hearing, that M. S. *Iohn* was rather in love with his own letter; he confessed he had seen your Lordships letter, before hee wrote his to the Major of *Marleborough*, and in your Lordships letter, there was not a word whereto the Statutes by Mr. Sr. *Iohn* alleadged, had reference; for those Statutes did condemn the gathering of money from the subject, undertitle of a free gift; whereas a fift, a sixt, a tenth, &c. was set down and required. But my good Lord, though divers Shires have given to his Majestie, some more, some lesse, what is this to the Kings debt?

COUNS. Wee know it well enough, but we have many other projects.

IUST. It is true my good Lord: but your Lordship will find, that when by these you have drawn many petty summes from the subjects, and those sometimes spens as fast as they are gathered, his Majesty being nothing enabled thereby, when you shall be forced to demand your *great aide*, the the Countrey will excuse it self in regard of their former payments.

COUNS. What mean you by the *great aide*?

IUST.

JUST. I mean the aide of Parliament.

COUNS. By Parliament, I would fain know the man that durst perswade the King unto it, for if it should succeed ill, in what case were he?

JUST. You say well for your self my Lord, and perchance you that are lovers of your selves (under pardon) do follow the advice of the late Duke of *Alva*, who was ever opposite to all resolutions in businesse of importance; for if the things enterprised, succeeded well, the advice never came in question; if ill, (whereto great undertakings are commonly subject) he then made his advantage by remembering his Countrey Councill: But my good Lord, these reserved Politicians are not the best servants, for he that is bound to adventure his life for his Master, is also bound to adventure his advice, *Keep not back Councill (saith Ecclesiasticus) when it may do good.*

COUNS. But Sir, I speak it not in other respect then I think it dangerous for the King to assemble the three estates, for thereby have our former Kings alwayes lost somewhat of their *prerogatives*. And because that you shall not think that I speak it at random,

done, I will begin with elder times, wherein the first contention began betwixt the Kings of this land and their Subjects in Parliament.

J. S. T. Your Lordship shall do me a singular favour,

C. O. U. N. S. You know that the Kings of England had no formal Parliament till about the 18. year of *Her.* the first, for in his 17 year for the marriage of his Daughter, the King raised a tax upon every hide of land by the advice of his privy Councell alone. But you may remember how the Subjects soon after the establishment of this Parliament, began to stand upon termes with the King, and drew from him by strong hand and the sword the great Charter.

J. S. T. Your Lordship sayes well, they drew from the King the great charter by the sword, and hereof the Parliament cannot be accused, but the Lords.

C. O. U. N. S. You say well, but it was after the establishment of the Parliament, and by colour of it, that they had so great daring, for before that time they could not endure to hear of *St. Edwards* lawes, but resisted the confirmation in all they could, although by

by those Lawes the Subjects of this
Iland were no lesse free than any of
all *Europe*.

J u s t. My good Lord, the reason
is manifest; for while the *Normans*
and other of the *French* that followed
Conquerour made spoyle of the *En-
glish*, they would not endure that any
thing but the will of the Conquerour
should stand for Law: but after a di-
scient or two when themselves were
become *English*, and found themselves
beaten with their own rods, they then
began to favour the difference be-
tween subjection and slavery, and in-
sist upon the Law, *Morum & iuris*, and
to be able to say unto themselves, *hoc
fac & vives*: yea that the conquering
English in *Ireland* did the like, your
Lordship knowes it better than I.

C o u n s. I think you guesse a-
right: And to the end the subject may
know that being a faithfull servant to
his Prince he might enjoy his own
life, and paying to his Prince what be-
longs to a Sovereigne, the remainder
was his own to dispose. *Henry* the
first to content his Vassals gave them
the great Charter, and the Charter of
Forrefts.

J u s t. What reason then had
K,

K. Iohn to deny the confirmation.

COUNS. He did not, but he on the contrary confirmed both the *Charters* with additions, & required the Pope whom he had then made his superior to strengthen him with a *golden Bul.*

JUS T. But your honour knowes, that it was not long after, that he repented himself.

COUNS. It is true, and he had reason so to do for the Barons refused to follow him into France, as they ought to have done, and to say true, this *great charter* upon which you insist so much, was not originally granted Regally and freely; for *Henry* the first did usurpe the Kingdome, and therefore the better to assure himself against *Robert* his eldest Brother, hee flattered the Nobility and people with those *charters*. Yea King *Iohn* that confirmed them, had the like respect for *Arthur* Duke of *Britain*, was the undoubted heir of the Crown, upon whom *Iohn* usurped. And so to conclude, these *Charters* had their originall from Kings *de facto* but not *de jure*.

JUS T. But King *Iohn* confirmed the *Charter* after the death of his Nephew *Arthur*, when he was then Rex *de jure* also.

COUNS.

COUNS. It is true, for he durst do no other, standing accursed, whereby few or none obeyed him, for his Nobility refused to follow him into *Scotland*, and he had so grieved the people by pulling down all the Parke pales before harvest, to the end his Deere might spoil the corn, And by seizing the temporalities of so many Bishopricks into his hands, and chiefly for practising the death of the Duke of *Britain* his Nephew, as also having lost *Normandy* to the French, so as the hearts of all men were turned from him.

IUST. Nay by your favour my Lord, King *John* restored *K. Edwards* Laws after his absolution, and wrote his letters in the 13. of his reigne to all Sheriffes countermanding all former oppressions, yea this he did notwithstanding the Lords refused to follow him into France.

COUNS. Pardon me, he did not restore King *Edwards* Lawes then, nor yet confirmed the Charters, but he promised upon his absolution to doe both: but after his return out of France, in his 16. year he denyed it, because without such a promise he had not obtained restitution, his promise

mise being constrained, and not voluntary.

J u s T. But what think you? was hee not bound in honour to performe it.

C O U N S. Certainly no, for it was determined the case of King Francis the first of France, that all promises by him made, whilest he was in the hands of Charles the first his enemy, were void, by reason the Judge of honour, which tells us he durst doe no other.

J u s T. But King John was not in prison.

C O U N S. Yet for all that, restraint is imprisonment, yea, feat it self is imprisonment, and the King was subject to both: I know there is nothing more Kingly in a King than the performance of his word; but yet of a word freely and voluntarily given. Neither was the Charter of Henry the first so published, that all men might plead it for their advantage but a Charter was left (in deposito) in the hands of the Archbishop of Canterbury for the time, and so to his successors. Stephen Langton, who was ever a Traytor to the King, produced this charter, and shewed it to the Barons there-

thereby encouraging them to make war against the King. Neither was it the old *Charter* simply the Barons sought to have confirmed, but they presented unto the King other articles and orders, tending to the alteration of the whole commonwealth, which when the King refused to signe, the Barons presently put themselves into the field, and in rebellious and outrageous fashion sent the King word, except he confirmed them, they would not desist from making war against him, till he had satisfied them therein. And in conclusion, the King being betrayed of all his Nobility, in effect was forced to grant the *Charter of Magna Charta*, and *Charta de Forestis*, at such time as he was environed with an Army in the Meadows of *Staines*, which *hatters* being procured by force, Pope *Innocent* afterward disavowed, and threatned to curse the Barons if they submitted not themselves as they ought to their Sovereigne Lord, which when the Lords refused to obey, the King entertained an army of strangers for his own defence, where-with having mastered and beaten the Barons, they called in *Lewes of France* (a most unnaturall resolution) to be their

their King Neither was *Magna Charta* a Law in the 19. of Henry the 2d. but simply a *Charter* which hee confirmed in the 21. of his reigne, and made it a Law in the 25. according to *Liuletons* opinion. Thus much for the beginning of the *Great Charter*, which had first an obscure birth from usurpation, and was secondly fostered and shewed to the world by rebellion.

J u s T. I cannot deny but that all your Lordship hath said is true; but seeing the *Charters* were afterwards so many times confirmed by Parliament and made Lawes, and that there is nothing in them unequall or prejudicial to the King, doth not your Honour think it reason they should be observed?

C O U N S. Yes, and observed they are in all that the state of a King can permit, for no man is destroyed but by the Lawes of the land, no man disseized of his inheritance but by the Lawes of the land, imprisoned they are by the prerogative where the King hath cause to suspect their loyalty: for were it otherwise, the King should never come to the knowledge of any conspiracy or Treason against his Person or state, and being imprisoned, yet doth

doth not any man suffer death but by the Law of the land.

J u s t. But may it please your Lordship, were not *Cornwallis*, *Sharpe*, and *Hoskins* imprisoned, being no suspicion of Treason there?

C o u n s. They were; but it cost them nothing.

J u s t. And what got the King by it? for in the conclusion (besides the murmure of the people) *Cornwallis*, *Sharpe*, and *Hoskins* having greatly overshot themselves, and repented them, a fine of 5 or 600^l. was laid on his Majesty for their offences, for so much their diet cost his Majesty.

C o u n s. I know who gave the advice, sure I am that it was none of mine: But thus I say, if you consult your memory, you shall find that those Kings which did in their own times confirme the *Magna Charta*, did not onely imprison, but they caused of their Nobility and others to be slain without hearing or tryall,

J u s t. My good Lord, if you will give me leave to speak freely, I say, that they are not well advised that perswade the King not to admit the *Magna Charta* with the former reservations. For as the King can never lose
a far-

a farthing by it as I shall prove anon: So except *England* were as *Naples* is, and kept by Garrisons of another Nation, it is impossible for a King of *England* to greasen and enrich himself by any way so assuredly, as by the love of his people: For by one rebellion the King hath more losse then by a hundred years observance of *Magna Charta*, For therein have our Kings been forced to compound with Rogues and Rebels, and to pardon them, yea the state of the King, the Monarchie, the Nobility have been endangered by them.

COUNS. Well Sir, let that passe, why should not our Kings raise money as the Kings of *France* do by their letters and Edicts onely? for since the time of *Lewes* the 11. of whom it is said, that he freed the French Kings of their wardship, the French Kings have seldome assembled the states for any contribution.

JUR. I will tell you why: the strength of *England* doth consist of the people and Yeomanry, the Peasants of *France* have no courage nor armes: In *France* every Village and Burrough hath a castle, which the French call *Chasteau Villain*, every good City hath

a good Cittadell, the King hath the Regiments of his guards and his men at armes alwayes in pay ; yea the Nobility of *France* in whom the strength of *France* consists, doe alwayes assist the King in those leavies, because themselves being free, they made the same leavies upon ther Tennants. But my Lord, if you marke it, *France* was never free in effect from civill wars, and lately it was endangered either to be conquered by the Spaniard, or to be cantonized by the rebellious French themselves, since that freedom of Wardship. But my good Lord, to leave this digression, that wherein I would willingly satisfie your Lordship, is, that the Kings of *Englond* have never received losse by Parliament, or prejudice.

COUNS. No Sir, you shall find that the subjects in Parliament have decreed great things to the disadvantage and dishonour of our Kings in former times.

JUST. My good Lord, to avoid confusion, I will make a short repetition of them all, so then your Lordship may object where you see cause; And I doubt not but to give your Lordship satisfaction. In the first year of
Henry

Henry the 3d there was no dispute, the house gave the King two shillings of every plough land within *England*, and in the end of the same year he had *escuage* payed him (to wit) for every Knights fee two marks in silver. In the fifth year of that King, the Lords demaunded the confirmation of the *Great Charter* which the Kings Councell for that time present excused, alleadging that those priviledges, were exhorted by force during the Kings Minoritie, and yet the King was pleased to send forth his writ to the Sheriffes of every Countrey, requiring them to certifie what those liberties were, and how used, and in exchange of the Lords demaund, because they pressed him so violently, the King required all the castles and places which the Lords held of his, and had held in the time of his Father, with those Manors and Lordships which they had heretofore wrested from the Crown, which at that time (the King being provided of forces) they durst not deny, in the 14 year he had the 15. peny of all goods given him, upon condition to confirme the *Great Charter*: For by reason of the wars in *France*, and the losse of *Rachel*,

chell, he was them enforced to consent to the Lords in all they demanded, in the tenth of his reigne he fined the City of London at 50000. marks, because they had received Lewis of France, in the 11. year in the Parliament at Oxford, he revoked the great Charter, being granted when he was under age, and governed by the Earle of Pembroke and the Bishop of Winchester, in this 11. year the Earles of Cornwall and Chester, Marshall, Edward Earle of Pembroke, Gilbert Earle of Gloucester, Warren, Hereford, Ferrars, and Warwick, and others rebelled against the King, and constrained him to yeeld unto them in what they demaunded for their particular interest, which rebellion being appeased, he sayled into France, and in his 15. year he had a 15th of the temporality, and a disme and a half of the spirituality, and withall escuage of every Knights fee.

COUNS. But what say you to the Parliament of Westminster in the 16th. of the King, where notwithstanding the wars of France and his great charge in repulsing the Welsh rebels, he was flatly denyed the Subsidy demanded.

IUST. I confesse, my Lord, that
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the house excused themselves by reason of their poverty, and the Lords taking of Armes; in the next year it was manifest that the house was practised against the King: And was it not so, my good Lord, think you in our two last Parliaments, for in the first even those whom his Majesty trusted most, betrayed him in the union, and in the second there were other of the great ones ran counter. But your Lordship spake of dangers of Parliaments, in this, my Lord, there was a denyall, but there was no danger at all: but to returne where I left, what got the Lords by practizing the house at that time? I say that those that brake this staffe upon the King, were overturned with the counterbluffe, for he resumed all those lands which he had given in his minority, he called all his exacting officers to accompt, he found them all faulty; he examined the corruption of other Magistrates, and from all these he drew sufficient money to satisfie his present necessity; whereby he not onely spared his people, but highly contented them with an act of so great Iustice: Yea Hubert Earle of Kent, the chief Iustice whom he had most trusted, and most advanced,

ced, was found as false to the King as any one of the rest. And for conclusion in the end of that year at the assembly of the States at *Lambeth*, the King had the fortieth part of every mans goods given him freely toward his debts, for the people, who the same year had refused to give the King any thing, when they saw he had squeased those sponges of the Common-wealth, they willingly yielded to give him satisfaction.

COUNS. But I pray you what became of this *Hubert*, whom the King had favoured above all men, betraying his Majesty as he did.

IUST. There were many that perswaded the King to put him to death, but he could not be drawn to consent, but the King seized upon his estate which was great; yet in the end he left him a sufficient portion, and gave him his life because he had done great service in former times: For this Majesty, though he took advantage of his vice, yet he forgot not to have consideration of his vertue. And upon this occasion it was that the King, betrayed by those whom he most trusted, entertained strangers, and gave them their offices and the charge of

his Castles and strong places in England.

COUNS. But the drawing in of those strangers was the cause that Marshall Earle of Pembroke moved war against the King.

JUST. It is true, my good Lord, but he was soon after slain in Ireland, and his whole masculine race, ten yeares extinguished, though there were five sons of them, and Marshall being dead, who was the mover and ring-leader of that war, the King pardoned the rest of the Lords that had assisted Marshall.

COUNS. What reason had the King so to doe?

JUST. Because he was perswaded, that they loved his person, and only hated those corrupt Counsellors, that then bare the greatest sway under him, as also because they were the best men of war he had, whom if he destroyed, having war with the French, he had wanted Commanders to have served him.

COUNS. But what reason had the Lords to take armes?

JUST. Because the King entertained the Poitevins, were not they the Kings vassals also? Should the

the *Spaniards* rebell, because the *Spanish* King trusts to the *Neapolitans*, *Portugues*, *Millanoies*, and other Nations his vassals, seeing those that are governed by the Vice-royes and deputies, are in policy to be well entertained & to be employed, who would otherwise devise how to free themselves; whereas, being trusted and imployed by their Prince, they entertain themselves with the hopes that other the Kings vassals do, if the King had called in the *Spaniards*, or other Nations, not his Subjects, the Nobilitie of *England* had reason of grief.

C O U N S. But what people did ever serve the King of *England* more faithfully then the *Gascoynes* did, even to the last of the conquest of that Duchie?

I u s T. Your Lordship sayes well, and I am of that opinion, that if it had pleased the Queen of *Eng.* to have drawn some of the chief of the *Irish* Nobilitie into *Eng.* and by exchange to have made them good free-holders in *Eng.* she had saved above 2. millions of pounds, which were consumed in times of those Rebellions. For what held the great *Gascoigne* firme to the

Crown of *England* (of whom the Duke of *Espernon* married the Inheritrix) but his Earldome of *Kendall* in *England*, whereof the Duke of *Espernon* (in right of his Wife) beares the Title to this day? And to the same end I take it, hath *James* our Sovereign Lord given Lands to divers of the Nobilitie of *Scotland*. And if I were worthy to advise your Lordship, I should think that your Lordship should do the King great service, to put him in mind to prohibite all the *Scottish* Nation to alienate and sell away their inheritance here; for they selling, they not only give cause to the *English* to complain, that the Treasure of *England* is transported into *Scotland*, but his Majesty is thereby also frustrated of making both Nations one, and of assuring the service and obedience of the *Scots* in future.

C O M M S. You say well, for though those of *Scotland* that are advanced and enriched by the Kings Majesties will, no doubt serve him faithfully, yet how their heires and successors, having no inheritance to lose in *England*, may be seduced, is uncertain. But let us go on with our Parliament. And what say you to the denyall; in the
26th.

26th. year of his reigne, even when the King was invited to come into *France* by the Earle of *March*, who had married his Mother, and who promised to assist the King in the conquest of many places lost?

IUST. It is true my good Lord, that a subsidie was then denied, and the reasons are delivered in *English Histories*, and indeed the King not long before had spent much Treasure in aiding the Duke of *Fritain* to no purpose; for he drew over the King but to draw on good conditions for himself, as the Earle of *March* his father in law now did: As the *English Barons* did invite *Lewes* of *France* not long before, as in elder times all the Kings and States had done, and in late years the Leaguers of *France* entertained the *Spaniards*, and the *French* Protestants and *Netherlands*, Queen *Elizabeth*, not with any purpose to greaten those that aide them, but to purchase to themselves an advantageous peace. But what say the Histories to this denyall? They say, with a world of payments there mentioned, that the King had drawn the Nobility drie. And besides, that whereas not long before great summes of mo-

ney were given, and the same appointed to be kept in four Castles, and not to be expended but by the advice of the Peeres; it was beleevd, that the same Treasure was yet unspent.

COUNS. Good Sir you have said enough; judge you whether it were not a dishonour to the King to be so tyed, as not to expend his Treasure but by other mens advice, as it were by their licence.

I u s r. Surely, my Lord, the King was well advised to take the money upon any condition, and they were fooles that propounded the restraint; for it doth not appear, that the King took any great heed to those overseers: *Kings are bound by their pietie, and by no other obligation.* In Queen *Maries* time, when it was thought that she was with Child, it was propounded in Parliament, that the rule of the Realme should be given to King *Philip*, during the minoritye of the hoped Prince or Princessse; and the King offered his assurance in great summes of money, to relinquish the Government at such time as the Prince or Princessse should be of age: At which motion, when all else were silent in the House,
Lord

Lord Darres (who was none of the wisest) asked who shall sue the Kings Bonds? which ended the dispute, (for what other Bond is between a King and his vassals, then the Bond of the Kings Faith?) But, my good Lord, the King, notwithstanding the denyall at that time, was with gifts from particular persons, and otherwise, supplied for proceeding of his journey for that time into France; he took with him 30 Caskes filled with Silver and Coyne, which was a great Treasure in those dayes. And lastly, notwithstanding the first denyall, in the Kings absence he had Escuage granted him (to wit) 20s. of every Knights Fee.

COUNS. What say you then to the 28th year of that King, in which when the King demanded reliefe, the States would not consent, except the the same former order had bin taken for the appointing of 4 overseers for the treasure: as also that the Lord chief Iustice and the L. Chancellor should be chosen by the States, with some Barons of the Exchequer and other officers.

JUST. My good Lord, admit the King had yeelded their demands,

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then

then whatsoever had been ordained by those Magistrates to the dislike of the Common-wealth, the people had been without remedie, whereas while the King made them, they had their appeal and other remedies. But those demands vanished, and in the end the King had escuage given him, without any of their conditions. It is an excellent vertue in a King to have patience, and to give way to the furie of mens passions. The Whale when he is stricken by the fisherman, growes into that furie, that he cannot be resisted: but will overthrow all the Ships and Barkes that come into his way; but when he hath tumbled a while, he is drawn to the shore with a twin'd thred.

COUNS. What say you then to the Parliament in the 29th. of that King?

IUST. I say, that the Commons being unable to pay, the King relieves himself upon the richer sort: and so it likewise happened in the 33. of that King, in which he was relieved chiefly by the Citie of London. But, my good Lord, in the Parliament in London in the 38th year, he had given him the tenth of all the revenues of the Church

Church for 3 years, and three marks of every Knights Fee throughout the Kingdome, upon his promise and oath upon the observing of *Magna Charta*, but in the end of the same year, the King being then in *France*, he was denyed the aides which he required. What is this to the danger of a Parliament? especially at this time they had reason to refuse, they had given so great a summe in the beginning of the same year. And again; because it was known that the King had but pretended war with the King of *Cassile*, with whom he had secretly contracted an alliance, and concluded a Marriage betwixt his Son *Edward* and the Lady *Elenor*. These false fires do but fright Children, and it commonly falls out, that when the cause given is known to be false, the necessitie pretended is thought to be fained. Royall dealing hath evermore Royall successe; and as the King was denyed in the eight and thirtieth year, so was he denyed in the nine and thirtieth year, because the Nobilitie and the people saw it plainly, that the K. was abused by the Pope, who as well in despite to *Manfred* bastard Son to the Emperour *Frederick* the second: as to
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cozen the King and to waste him, would needes bestow on the King the Kingdome of *Sicily*; to recover which the King sent all the Treasure he could borrow or scrape to the Pope, and withall gave him letters of credence, for to take up what he could in *Italy*, the King binding himself for the payment. Now, my good Lord, the wisdom of Princes is seen in nothing more then in their enterprises. So how unpleasing it was to the State of *England* to consume the Treasure of the Land, and in the conquest of *Sicily* so far off, and otherwise, for that the *English* had lost *Normandie* under their noses, and so many goodly parts of *France*, of their own proper inheritances: the reason of the denyall is as well to be considered as the denyall.

COUNS. Was not the King also denied a Subsidie in the fortie first of his reigne?

IUST. No, my Lord: for although the King required money as before, for the impossible conquest of *Sicily*, yet the House offered to give 52000 marks, which whether he refused or accepted, is uncertain: and whilst the King dreamed of *Sicily*, the *Welsh* invaded

invaded and spoyled the borders of England; for in the Parliament of London, when the King urged the House for the prosecuting the conquest of *Sicily*, the Lords utterly disliking the attempt, urged the prosecuting of the Welshmen: which Parliament being proroged did again assemble at Oxford, and was called the mad Parliament, which was no other then an assembly of rebels, for the royal assent of the King which gives life to all Lawes, form'd by the three estates, was not a royall assent, when both the King and the Prince were constrained to yeeld to the Lords. A constrained consent is the consent of a Captive and not of a King and therefore there was nothing done either legally or royally. For if it be not properly a Parliament where the subject is not free, certainly it can be none where the King is bound, for all Kingly rule was taken from the King, and twelve Peeres appointed, and as some Writers have it 24. Peeres, to governe the Realme, and therefore the assembly made by *Jack Straw* and other rebels may aswell be called a Parliament as that of Oxford. *Principis nomen habere, non est esse princeps,* for

for thereby was the K. driven not only to compound all quarrels with the French, but to have meanes to be revenged on the rebell Lords: but he quitted his right to *Normandy, Anjou and Mayne.*

C O U N S. But Sir, what needed this extremity, seeing the Lords required but the confirmation of the former Charter, which was not prejudiciall to the King to grant?

J U S T. Yes my good Lord, but they insulted upon the King, and wou'd not suffer him to enter into his own Castles, they put down the Purveyor of the meat for the maintenance of his house: as if the King had been a bankrupt, and gave order that without ready money he should not take up a Chicken. And though there is nothing against the royalty of a King in these Charters (the Kings of England being Kings of freemen and not of slaves) yet it is so contrary to the nature of a King to be forced even to those things which may be to his advantage, as the King had some reason to seek the dispensation of his oath from the Pope, and to draw in strangers for his own defence: yea *jure salvo Corona nostra* is intended in-

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clusively in all oathes and promises exacted from a Sovereigne.

COUNS. But you cannot be ignorant how dangerous a thing it is to call in other Nations both for the spoil they make, as also, because they have often held the possession of the best places with which they have been trusted.

JUST. It is true my good Lord, that there is nothing so dangerous for a King as to be constrained and held as prisoner to his vassals, for by that, *Edward* the second, and *Richard* the second lost their Kingdomes and their lives. And for calling in of strangers, was not King *Edward* the sixth driven to call in strangers against the Rebels in *Norfolke*, *Cornwall*, *Oxfordshire* and elsewhere? Have not the Kings of Scotland been oftentimes constrained to entertain strangers against the Kings of England: And the King of England at this time had he not bin diverse times assisted by the Kings of Scotland & had bin endangered to have been expelled for ever.

COUNS. But yet you know those Kings were deposed by Parliament.

JUST. Yea my good Lord being Prisoners, being out of possession, and being

being in their hands that were Princes of the blood and pretenders. It is an old Countrey Proverbe, (that *Might overcomes Right*) a weak title that weares a strong sword, commonly prevailes against a strong title that weares but a weak one, otherwise Philip the second had never been Duke of Portugal, nor Duke of Millayne, nor King of Naples & Sicily. But good Lord, *Errores non sunt trahendi in exemplum*. I speak of regall, peaceable, and lawfull Parliaments. The King at this time was but a King in name, for Gloucester, Leicester and Chichester made choise of other Nine, to whom the rule of the Realme was committed, and the Prince was forced to purchase his liberty from the Earle of Leicester, by giving for his ransome the Countrey Pallatine of Chester. But my Lord let us judge of those occasions by their events, what became of this proud Earle? was he not soon after slain in Evesham? was he not left naked in the field, and left a shamfull spectacle, his head being cut off from his shoulders, his privie parts from his body, and laid on each side of his nose? And did not God extinguish his race, after which in a lawfull Parliament

liament at Westminster (confirmed in a following Parliament of Westminster) were not all the Lords that followed Leycester disinherited? And when that fool Gloucester after the death of Leycester (whom he had formerly forsaken) made himself the head of a second Rebellion, and called in strangers, for which not long before he had cried out against the King, was not he in the end, after that he had seen the slaughter of so many of the Barons, the spoil of their Castles, and Lordships constrained to submit himself, as all the survivors did, of which they that sped best, payed their fines and ransomes, the King reserving his younger Son, the Earldomes of Leycester and Derby.

COUNS. Well Sir, we have disputed this King to the grave, though it be true, that he out-lived all his enemies, and brought them to confusion, yet those examples did not terrifie their successors, but the Earle Marshall, and Hereford, threatned King Edward the first, with a new War.

IUST. They did so, but after the death of Hereford, the Earle Marshall repented himself, and to gain the Kings favour, he made him heir

of

of all his Lands. But what is this to the Parliament? for there was never King of this land had more given him for the time of his reign, then *Edward* the Son of *Henry* the third had.

COUNS. How doth that appear?

JUSTR. In this sort my good Lord, in this Kings third year he had given him the fiftenth part of all goods. In his sixt year a twentyeth. In his twelfth year a twentyeth, in his fourteenth year he had escuage (to wit) forty shillings of every Knights Fee, in this eighteenth year he had the eleventh part of all moveable goods within the Kingdome, in his nineteenth year the tenth part of all Church livings in England, Scotland and Ireland; for six years, by agreement from the Pope, in his three and twentieth year he raised a taxe upon Wool and fells, and on a day caused all the religious houses to be searched, and all the treasure in them to be seized and brought to his coffers; excusing himself by laying the fault upon his Treasurer, he had also in the end of the same year, of all goods of all Burgeses, and of the Commons the 10th part, in the 25th year of the Parliament of *St. Edmundsbury*, he had an 18th part of the goods

goods of the Burgesſes, and of the people in generall, the tenth part. He had alſo the ſame year by putting the Clergie out of his protection a fifth part of their goods, and in the ſame year he ſet a great taxe upon Woolls, to wit, from half a marke to 40 s. upon every ſack, whereupon the Earle *Marſhall*, and the Earle of *Hereford* reſuſing to attend the King into *Flanders*, pretended the greevances of the people. But in the end the King having pardoned them, and confirmed the great Charrer, he had the ninth penny of all goods from the Lords and Commons of the Clergie, in the South he had the tenth penny, and in the North the fiſt penny. In the two and thirtieth year he had a ſubſedy freely granted. In the three and thirtieth year he confirmed the great Charter of his own Royall diſpoſition, and the ſtates to ſhew their thankſnelle, gave the King for one year, the fiſt part of all the revenues of the land, and of the Citizens the ſixt part of their goods. And in the ſame year the King uſed the inquiſition called *Trai le Baſton*. By which all Juſtices and other Magiſtrates were grievouſly fined that had uſed extortion

tion or bribery, or had otherwise misdemeaned themselves to the great contentation of the people. This Commission likewise did enquire of entruders, barators, and all other the like vermine, whereby the King gathered a great masse of treasure with a great deal of love. Now for the whole raigne of this King, who governed *England* 35 years, there was not any Parliament to his prejudice.

COUNS. But there was taking of armes by *Marshall* and *Hereford*.

JUST. That's true, but why was that? because the King, notwithstanding all that was given him by Parliament, did lay the greatest taxes that ever King did without their consent. But what lost the King by those Lords? one of them gave the King all his lands, the other dyed in disgrace.

COUNS. But what say you to the Parliament in *Edward* the Second time his successor: did not the house of Parliament banish *Peince Gaveston* whom the King favoured?

JUST. But what was this *Gaveston* but an Esquier of *Gascoine*, formerly banisht the Realme by King *Edward* the first, for corrupting the Prince *Edward*, now raigning. And the whole
King.

Kingdome fearing and detesting his
venemous disposition, they besought
his Majestie to cast him off, which the
King performed by an act of his own,
and not by act of Parliament, yea
Cavestones own father in Law, the
Earle of *Glocester*, was one of the chief-
est of the Lords that procured it. And
yet finding the Kings affection to fol-
low him so strongly, they all consent-
ed to have him recalled. After which
when his credit so increased, that he
dispised and set at naught all the an-
cient Nobility, and not onely per-
swaded the King to all manner of
outrages and riots, but withall tran-
sporting what he listed of the Kings
Treasure, and Jewels: the Lords ur-
ged his banishment the second time,
but neither was the first nor second
banishment forced by Act of Parlia-
ment, but by the forceable Lords his
Enemies. Lastly he being recalled by
the King, the Earle of *Lancaster* caused
his head to be stricken off, when those
of his party had taken him prisoner. By
which presumptuous Act, the Earle
and the rest of his company commit-
ted Treason and murder: Treason by
raising an Army without warrant,
murder by taking away the life of the
Kings

Kings Subject. After which *Cavell* being dead, the *Spencers* got possession of the Kings favour, though the younger of them was placed about the King, by the Lords themselves.

COUNS. What say you then to the Parliament held at London about the sixt year of that King.

JUST. I say that King was not bound to performe the acts of this Parliament, because the Lords being too strong for the King, inforced his consent, for these be the words of our own History. *They wrested to much beyond the bounds of reason.*

COUNS. What say you to the Parliaments of the White wands in the 19th of the King.

JUST. I say the Lords that were so moved, came with an Army, and by strong hand surprized the King, they constrained, (saith the story) the rest of the Lords and compelled many of the Bishops to consent unto them, yea it saith further, that the King durst not but grant to all that they required, (to wit) for the banishment of the *Spencers*. Yea they were so insolent that they refused to lodge the Queen coming through *Kew* in the Castle of *Leedes*, and sent her to provide

provide her lodging where she could get it so late in the night, for which notwithstanding some that kept her out were soon after taken and hang'd, and therefore your Lordship cannot call this a Parliament for the reasons before alleadged. But my Lord what became of these Lawgivers to the King, even when they were greatest, a Knight of the North called *Andrew Herkeley*, assembled the Forces of the Countrey, overthrew them and their Army, slew the Earle of *Hereford*, and other Barons, took their generall *Thomas Earle of Lancaster*, the Kings cozen-germane at that time possessed of five Earledomes, the Lords *Clifford*, *Talbot*, *Moubray*, *Maudint*, *Willington*, *Warren*, Lord *Darcy*, *Withers*, *Knevill*, *Leybourne*, *Bekes*, *Lovell*, *Fitzwilliams*, *Watervild*, and divers other Barons, Knights and Esquiers, and soon after the Lord *Percy*, and the Lord *Warren* took the Lords *Baldsevere*, and the Lord *Audley*, the Lord *Teis*, *Gifford*, *Tuchet*, and many others that fled from the battaile, the most of which past under the hands of the hangman, for constraining the King under colour and name of a Parliament. But this your good Lordship may judge, to whom

whom, those tumultuous assemblies (which our Histories, falsely call Parliaments have been dangerous, the King in the end ever prevailed, and the Lords lost their lives, and estates. After which the *Spencers* in their banishment at *York*, in the 15th of the King, were restored to the honors and estates, and therein the King had a subsidy given him the sixt penny of goods throughout *England*, *Ireland*, and *Wales*.

COUNS. Yet you see the *Spencers* were soon after dissolved.

IUST. It is true my Lord, but that is nothing to our subject of Parliament, they may thank their own insolencie, for they branded and dispised the Queen, whom they ought to have honored as the Kings wife; they were also exceeding greedy, and built themselves upon other mens ruines, they were ambitious and exceeding malicious, whereupon that came, that when Chamberlain *Spencer* was hang'd in *Hereford*, a part of the 24th *Psalm* was written over his head: *orgogliosus in malitia potens*?

COUNS. Well Sir, you have all this while excused your self upon the strength and rebellions of the Lords, but

but what say you now to King *Edward* the third, in whose time (and during the time of this victorious King, no man durst take Armes or rebell) the three estates did him the greatest affront that ever King received or endured, therefore I conclude where I began, that these Parliaments are dangerous for a King,

J u s T. To answer your Lordship in order, may it please you first to call to mind, what was given this great King by his Subjects before the dispute betwixt him and the house happened, which was in his latter dayes, from his first year to his fift year, there was nothing given the King by his Subjects, in his eight year at the Parliament at *London* a tenth and a fifteenth was granted, in his tenth year he ceased upon the *Italians* goods here in *England* to his own use, with all the goods of the *Monkes Cluniackes* and others, of the order of the *Cisterians*. In the eleaventh year, he had given him by Parliament a notable relief, the one half of the *Woolls* throughout *England*, and of the *Clergy* all their *Woolls*, after which, in the end of the year he had granted in his Parliament at *Westmin-*

per, forty shillings upon every sack of Wooll, and for every 30 woollfels forty shillings, for every last of leatherne, as much, and for all other merchandizes after the same rate. The King promising that this years gathering ended, he would thenceforth content himself with the old custome, he had over and above this great aide the eight part of all goods of all Citizens and Burgeses; and of others as of forreigne Merchants, and such as lived not of the gain of breeding of sheep and cattell the fifteenth of their goods. Nay my Lord: this was not all, though more then ever was granted to any King, for the same Parliament bestowed on the King the ninth sheaf of all the corn within the Land, the ninth fleece, and the ninth lambe for two years next following; now what think your Lordship of this Parliament.

C O U N S. I say they were honest men.

I u s T. And I say, the people are as loving to their King now, as ever they were, if they be honestly and wisely dealt withall, and so his Majesty hath found them in his last two Parliaments, if his Majestie had not been

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been betrayed by those whom he most trusted.

COUNS. But I pray you Sir, who shall a King trust, if he may not trust those whom he hath so greatly advanced?

JUST. I will tell your Lordship whom the King may trust.

COUNS. Who are they?

JUST. His own reason, and his own excellent Iudgement which have not deceived him in any thing, wherein his Majesty hath been pleased to exercise them, *Take counsell of thine heart* (saith the book of Wisedome) *for there is none more Ifaithfull unto thee then it.*

COUNS. It is true, but his Majesty found that those wanted no judgement whom he trusted, and how could his Majestie divine of their honesties?

JUST. Will you pardon me if I speak freely, for if I speak out of love, which (as Solomon saith) *covereth all trespasses*, The truth is, that his Majestie would never beleieve any man that spake against them, and they knew it well enough, which gave them boldnesse to do what they did.

COUNS. What was that?

JUST. Even, my good Lord, to

ruine the Kings estate so far as the state of so great a King may be ruin'd by men ambitious and greedy without proportion. It had been a brave increase of revenue, my Lord, to have rayseed 50000l. land of the Kings to 20000l. revenue, and to raise the revenue of wards to 20000l. more 40000l. added to the rest of his Majesties estate, had so enabled his Majesty, as he could never have wanted. And my good Lord, it had been an honest service to the King, to have added 7000l. lands of the Lord Colhams', Woods and goods being worth 30000l. more.

COUNS. I know not the reason why it was not done.

JUST. Neither doth your Lordship, perchance know the reason why the 10000l. offer'd by Swinnerton for a fine of the French wines, was by the then Lord Treasurer conferr'd on Devonshire and his Mistress.

COUNS. What moved the Treasurer to reject and crosse that raising of the Kings lands?

JUST. The reason, my good Lord, is manifest, for had the land been raised, then had the King known when he had given or exchanged land, what

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that he had given or exchanged.

COUNS. What hurt had been to
the Treasurer whose Office is truly
to informe the King of the value of
all that he giveth?

JUST. So he did when it did not
concerne himself nor his particular,
for he could never admit any one
piece of a good Manour to passe in
my Lord *Aubignes* book of 1000l.
and, till he himself had bought, and
then all the remaining flowers of the
Crowne were called out. Now had
the Treasurer suffer'd the Kings lands
to have been raised, how could his
Lordship have made choice of the old
rents, as well in that book of my Lord
Aubigne, as in exchange of *Theobalds*,
for which he took *Hatfield* in it,
which the greatest subject, or favo-
rite Queen *Elizabeth* had never durst
have named unto her by way of gift
or exchange. Nay my Lord, so ma-
ny other goodly Mannors have pas-
sed from his Majestie, as the very
heart of the Kingdome mourneth
to remember it, and the eyes of the
Kingdome shedde teares continually
at the beholding it: yea the soul of
the Kingdome is heavy unto death
with the consideration thereof, that so

magnanimous a Prince, should suffer himself to be so abused.

COUNS. But Sir you know the Cobhams lands were entayled upon his Cofens.

IUST. Yea my Lord, but during the lives and races of George Frook his children, it had been the Kings, that is to say, for ever in effect, but he wrest the King, and to draw the inheritance upon himself, he perswaded his Majestie to relinquish his interest for a pretty summe of mony; and there might be no counterworking he sent Frook 6000 l. to make friends whereof Lord Hume had 3000 l. back again, Buckhurst and Barwick had the other 4000 l. and the Treasurers and his heires the masse of land for ever.

COUNS. What then I pray you came to the King by this great confiscation.

IUST. My Lord, the Kings Majestie by all those goodly possessions, Woods and goods looseth 500 l. by the year which he giveth in pension to Cobham, to maintain him in prison.

COUNS. Certainly, even in conscience they should have reserved so much of the land in the Crown, as to have

have given *Cobham* meat and apparell, and not made themselves so great gainers, and the King sool. (*per annum*) looser by the bargain, but it's past: *Consilium non est eorum quæ fieri sequuntur.*

JU S T. Take the rest of the Sentence, my Lord: *Sed consilium versatur in iis quæ sunt in nostra potestate.* It is yet, my good Lord, in potestate Regis, to right himself. But this is not all my Lord; And I fear me, knowing your Lordships love to the King, it would put you in a feaver to hear all, I will therefore go on with my Parliaments.

COUNS. I pray do so, and amongst the rest, I pray you what say you to the Parliament holden at *London* in the fifteenth year of King Edward the third?

JU S T. I say there was nothing concluded therein to the prejudice of the King. It is true, that a little before the sitting of the house, the King displaced his Chancellour and his Treasurer, and most of all his Iudges and Officers of the Exchequer, and committed many of them to prison, because they did not supply him with money, being beyond the Seas, for

the rest, the States assembled, besought the King that the Lawes of the two Charters might be observed, and that the great Officers of the Crowne might be chosen by Parliament.

C O U N S. But what successe had these petitions.

I u s t. The Charters were observed, as before, and so they will be ever, and the other petition was rejected, the King being pleas'd, notwithstanding, that the great Officers, should take an oath in Parliament to do Iustice. Now for the Parliament of *westminster*, in the 17th year of the King, the King had three markes and a half for every sack of Wool, transported; and in his 18th he had a 10th of the Clergie, and a 15th of the Laity for one year. His Majestie forbore after this to charge his Subjects with any more payments, untill the 29th of his reigne, when there was given the King by Parliament 50. for every sack of Wool transported for six yeares, by which grant, the King received a thousand markes a day, a greater matter then a thousand pounds in these dayes, and a 1000l. a day amounts to 365000l. a year, which was one of the greatest presents

presents that ever was given to a King of this land. For besides the cheape-
 nesse of all things in that age, the
 Kings souldiers had but 3d. a day
 wages, a man at armes 6d. a Knight
 but 2s. In the Parliament at *Westminster*,
 in the 33th year he had 26s. 8d. for e-
 very sack of Wooll transported, & in
 the 42th year 3 dismes and 3 fiftens.
 In his 45th year he had 50000l. of the
 Laity, and because the Spirituality
 disputed it, and did not pay so much,
 the King chang'd his Chancellour,
 Treasurer, & Privy Seal being Bishops,
 and placed Lay men in their roome.

COUNS. It seems that in those
 dayes the Kings were no longer in
 love with their great Chancellors, then
 when they deserved well of them.

JUST. No my Lord, they were
 not, and that was the reason they
 were well served, and it was the cu-
 stome then, and in many ages after,
 to change the Treasurer & the Chan-
 cellour every 3 years, and withall to
 hear all mens complaints against them.

COUNS. But by this often change,
 the saying is verified, that there is no
 inheritance in the favour of Kings.
*He that keepeth the figge-tree (saith So-
 lemon) shall eat the fruit thereof;*

for reason it is that the servant live by the Master.

J u s t. My Lord, you say well in both, but had the subject an inheritance in the Princes favour, where the Prince hath no inheritance in the Subjects fidelity, then were Kings in more unhappy estate then common persons, for the rest, *Solomon* meaneth not, that he that *keepeth the figge tree* should surfet, though he meant he should eat, he meant not he should break the branches in gathering the figs, or eat the ripe; and leave the rotten for the owner of the tree; for what saith he in the following chapter, he saith that *he that maketh haste to be rich, cannot be innocent.* And before that, he saith, *that the end of an inheritance hastily gotten, cannot be blessed.* Your Lordship hath heard of few or none great with Kings, that have not used their power to oppresse, that have not growne insolent and hatefull to the people; yea, insolent towards those Princes that advanced them.

C o u n s. Yet you see that Princes can change their fancies.

J u s t. Yea my Lord, when favorites change their faith, when they forget that how familiar soever Kings
make

make themselves with their Vassals, yet they are Kings: *He that provoketh a King to anger (saith Solomon) sinneih against his own soul.* And he further saith, that *pri le goeth before destruction, and a high mind before a fall.* I say therefore, that in discharging those Lucifers, how dear soever they have been, Kings make the world know that they have more of Iudgement then of passion, yea they thereby offer a satisfactory sacrifice to all their people, too great benefits of subjects to their King, where the mind is blown up with their own deservings, and to great benefits of Kings conferr'd upon their Subjects, where the mind is not qualified with a great deal of modesty are equally dangerous. Of this later and insolenter, had King Richard the second delivered up to Iustice but three or four, he had still held the love of the people, and thereby his life and estate.

C O U N S. Well, I pray you go on with your Parliaments.

I u s t. The life of this great King Edward drawes to an end, so do the Parliaments of this time, wherein 50 years raigne, he never received any affront, for in his 49th year he had a
disme

time and a fifteen granted him freely.

COUNS. But Sir it is an old saying, that all is well that ends well, Iudge you whether that in his 30th. year in Parliament at *Westminster* he received not an affront, when the house urged the King to remove and discharge from his presence the Duke of *Lancaster*, the Lord *Latimer* his Chamberlaine, Sir *Richard Sturry*, and others whom the King favoured and trusted. Nay, they pressed the King to thrust a certain Lady out of Court, which at that time bare the greatest sway therein.

I u s T. I will with patience answer your Lordship to the full, and first your Lordship may remember by that which I even now said, that never King had so many gifts as this King had from his subjects, and it hath never grieved the subjects of England to give to their King, but when they knew there was a devouring Lady, that had her share in all things that passed, and the Duke of *Lancaster* was as seraping as shee, that the Chancellour did eat up the people as fast as either of them both. It grieved the subjects to feed these Cormorants.

But

But my Lord there are two things by which the Kings of *England* have been prest, (to wit) by their subjects, and by their own necessities. The Lords in former times were farre stronger, more warlike, better followed, living in their Countries, then now they are. Your Lordship may remember in your reading, that there were many Earles could bring into the field a thousand Barbed horses, many a Baron 5. or 600. Barbed horses, whereas now very few of them can furnish twenty fit to serve the King. But to say the truth my Lord, the Iustices of peace in *England*, have oppos'd the injusticers of war in *England*, the Kings writ runs over all, and the great Seal of *England*, with that of the next Constables will serve the turn to affront the greatest Lords in *England*, that shall move against the King. The force therefore by which our Kings in former times were troubled is vanished away. But the necessities remain. The people therefore in these later ages, are no lesse to be pleased then the Peeres; for as the later are become lesse, so by reason of the trayning through *England*, the Commons have all the weapons in their hand.

COUNS.

COUNS. And was it not so ever?

IUST. No my good Lord; for the Noblemen had in their Armories, to furnish some of them a thousand, some two thousand, some three thousand men, whereas now there are not many that can arme fifty.

COUNS. Can you blame them? But I will onely answer for my self, between you and me be it spoken, I hold it not safe to mantain so great an Armory or Stable, it might cause me, or any other Nobleman to be suspected, as the preparing of some Innovation.

IUST. Why so my Lord, rather to be commended as preparing against all danger of Innovation

COUNS. It should be so, but call your observation to accompt, and you shall find it as I say, for (indeed) such a jealousie hath been held ever since the time of the Civill wars, over the Military greatness of our Nobles, as made them have little will to bend their studies that wayes: wherefore let every man provide according as he is rated in the Muster Book, you understand me.

IUST. Very well my Lord, as what might be replied in the perceiving

ving so much ; I have ever (to deal plainly and freely with your Lordship) more fear'd at home popular violence, then all the forreine that can be made , for it can never be in the power of any forraigne Prince , without a Papisticall party , rather to disorder or endanger his Majesties Estate.

COUNS. By this it seems, it is no lesse dangerous for a King to leave the power in the people , then in the Nobility.

IUST. My good Lord , the wisdom of our own age, is the foolishness of another , the time present ought not to be preferr'd to the policy that was , but the policy that was , to the time present ; so that the power of the Nobility being now withered , and the power of the people in the flower , the care to content them would not be neglected , the way to win them often practized , or at least to defend them from oppression. The motive of all dangers that ever this Monarchy hath undergone , should be carefully heeded , for this Maxime hath no posterne , *Potestas humana radicatur in voluntatibus hominum*. And now my Lord , for King Edward, it is true , though he were not subject to
force

force, yet was he subject to necessity, which because it was violent, he gave way unto it, *Potestas* (saith *Pithagoras*) *juxta necessitatem habitat*. And it is true, that at the request of the house he discharged and put from him those before named, which done, he had the greatest gift (but one) that ever he received in all his dayes (to wit) from every person, man and woman, above the age of fourteen years 4d. of old money, which made many Millions of Groats, worth 6l. of our money. This he had in generall, besides he had of every beneficed Priest, 12d. And of the Nobility and Gentry, I know not how much, for it is not set down. Now my good Lord, what lost the King by satisfying the desires of the Parliament house, for as soon as he had the money in purse, he recalled the Lords, and restored them, and who durst call the King to accompt, when the Assembly were dissolved. *Where the word of a King is, there is power* (saith *Ecclesiasticus*) *who shall say unto him, what dost thou!* saith the same Author, for every purpose there is a time and judgement, the King gave way to the time, and his judgement perswaded him to yeeld to necessity, *consularium nemo*.

nemo melior est quam tempus.

COUNS. But yet you see the King was forc'd to yeeld to their demaunds.

JUST. Doth your Lordship remember the saying of *Monsier de Lange*, that he that hath the profit of the war, hath also the honour of the war, whether it be by battaile or retreat, the King you see had the profit of the Parliament, and therefore the honour also, what other end had the King then to supply his wants. A wise man hath evermore respect unto his ends: and the King also knew that it was the love that the people bare him, that they urged the removing of those Lords, there was no man among them that sought himself in that desire, but they all sought the King, as by the successe it appeared. My good Lord, hath it not been ordinary in *England* and in *France* to yeeld to the demaunds of rebels, did not King *Richard* the second graunt pardon to the outrageous rogues and murderers that followed *Jack Straw*, and *Wat Tyler*, after they had murdered his Chancellor, his Treasurer, Chief Iustice, and others, brake open his Exchequer, and committed all

all manner of outrages and villanies, and why did he do it, but to avoid a greater danger: I say the Kings have then yeelded to those that hated them and their estates, (to wit) to pernicious rebels. And yet without dishonour, shall it be called dishonour for the King to yeeld to honest desires of his subjects. No my Lord, those that tell the King those tales, fear their own dishonour, and not the Kings; for the honour of the King is supreme, and being guarded by Justice and piety, it cannot receive neither wound nor stain.

COUNS. But Sir, what cause have any about our King to fear a Parliament?

IUST. The same cause that the Earle of *Suffolke* had in *Richard* the seconds time, and the Treasurer *Farham*, with others, for these great Officers being generally hated for abusing both the King and the Subject, at the request of the States were discharged, and others put in their roones.

COUN. And was not this a dishonour to the King?

IUST. Certainly no, for King *Richard* knew that his Grandfather had done the like, and though the
King

King was in his heart utterly against it, yet had he the profit of this exchange; for *Suffolke* was fined at 20000 markes, and 1000l. lands.

C O U N S. Well Sir, we will speak of those that fear the Parliament some other time, but I pray you go on with that, that happened in the troublesome raigne of *Richard* the second who succeeded, the Grandfather being dead.

I u s T. That King, my good Lord, was one of the most unfortunate Princes that ever *England* had; he was cruell, extreame prodigall, and wholly carryed away with his two Minions, *Suffolk*, and the Duke of *Ireland*, by whose ill advice and others, he was in danger to have lost his estate; which in the end (being led by men of the like temper) he miserably lost. But for his subsidies he had given him in his first year being under age two tenths, and two fifteenes: In which Parliament, *Alice* Peirce, who was removed in King *Edwards* time, with *Lancaster*, *Latimer*, and *Sturry*, were confiscate and banished. In his second year at the Parliament at *Glocester*, the King had a marke upon every sack of Wooll, and 6d. the pound upon wards.

wards. In his third year at the Parliament at *Winchester*, the Commons were spared, and a subsidy given by the better sort, the Dukes gave 20 markes, and Earles 6 markes, Bishoppes and Abbots with myters six markes, every marke 3s. 4d. and every Knight, Iustice, Esquire, Shrieve, Person, Vicar, & Chaplaine, paid proportionably according to their estates.

COUNS. This me thinks was no great matter.

IUST. It is true my Lord, but a little mony went far in those dayes: I my self once moved it in Parliament in the time of Queen *Elizabeth*, who desired much to spare the Common people, & I did it by her Commandement; but when we cast up the subsidy Books, we found the summe but small, when the 30l. men were left out. In the beginning of his fourth year, a tenth with a fifteen were granted upon condition, that for one whole year no subsidies should be demanded; but this promise was as suddenly forgotten as made, for in the end of that year, the great subsidy of Poll mony was granted in the Parliament at *Northampton*.

COUNS. Yea but there followed
the

the terrible Rebellion of *Baker, Straw,*
and others, *Leisler, Wrais,* and others.

I u s T. That was not the fault of
the Parliament my Lord, it is ma-
nifest that the subsidy given was not
the cause; for it is plain that the bond-
men of *England* began it, because
they were grievously prest by their
Lords in their tenure of Villenage, as
also for the hatred they bare to the
Lawyers and Atturneyes: for the sto-
ry of those times say, that they de-
stroyed the houses and Mannors of
men of Law, & such Lawyers as they
caught, slew them, and beheaded the
Lord chief Iustice, which commotion
being once begun, the head mony was
by other Rebels pretended: A fire is of-
ten kindled with a little straw, which
oftentimes takes hold of greater tim-
ber, & consumes the whole building:
And that this Rebellion was begun by
the discontented slaves (whereof there
have been many in Elder times the
like) is manifest by the *Charter of Ma-
nmission*, which the King granted in
hec verba, *Rich. Dei gratia &c. Sciatis*
quod de gratia nostra spirituali manumissi-
mus, &c. to which seeing the King
was constrained by force of armes,
he revoked the letters Patents,
and

and made them voide , the same re-
 vocation being strengthened by the
 Parliament ensuing , in which the
 King had given him a subtedy upon
 Woolls, called a *Maletot* : In the same
 fourth year was the Lord Treasurer
 discharged of his Office , and *Hales*
 Lord of *St. Johns* chosen in his place,
 in his fift year was the Treasurer a-
 gain changed, and the Staffe given
 to *Seegrave* , and the Lord Chancellour
 was also changed, and the staffe given
 to the Lord *Scroope* : Which Lord
Scroope was again in the beginning of
 his sixt year turned off , and the King
 after that he had for a while kept the
 Seal in his own hand , gave it to the
 Bishop of *London* , from whom it was
 soon after taken and bestowed on the
 Earle of *Suffolke* , who they say had
 abused the King , and converted the
 Kings Treasure to his own use. To this
 the King condescended , and though
 (saith *Walsingham*) he deserved to loose
 his life and goods , yet he had the fa-
 vour to go at liberty upon good sure-
 ties , and because the King was but
 young , & that the reliefe granted was
 committed to the trust of the Earle of
Arundell for the furnishing of the
 Kings Navy against the *French*.

C O U N S.

COUNS. Yet you see it was a dishonour to the King to have his beloved Chancellour removed.

IUST. Truly no, for the King had both his fine cool lands and asub-
sedy to boot. And though for the pre-
sent it pleased the King to fancy a man
all the world hated (the Kings passion
overcomming his judgement) yet it
cannot be call'd a dishonour, for the
King is to believe the generall coun-
sell of the Kingdome, and to prefer it
before his affection, especially when
Suffolke was proved to be false even to
the King; for were it otherwise love
and affection might be called a frenzie
and a madnesse, for it is the nature of
humane passions, that the love bred
by fidelity, doth change it self into
hatred, when the fidelity is first chang-
ed into falshood.

COUNS. But you see there were
thirteen Lords chosen in the Parlia-
ment, to have the oversight of the
government under the King.

IUST. No my Lord, it was to have
the oversight of those Officers, which
(saith the story) had imbezeled,
lewdly wasted, and prodigally spent
the Kings Treasure, for to the Com-
mission to those Lords, or to any six
of

of them, joyn'd with the Kings Counsell, was one of the most royall and most profitable that ever he did, if he had bin constant to himself. But my good Lord, man is the cause of his own misery, for I will repeat the substance of the commission granted by the King, and confirmed by Parliament, which, whether it had bin profitable for the King to have prosecuted, your Lordship may judge. The preamble hath these words: *Whereas our Sovereigne Lord the King perceiveth by the grievous complaints of the Lords and Commons of this Realme, that the rents, profits, and revenues of this Realme, by the singular and insufficient Councell and evill government, aswell of some his late great Officers and others, &c. are so much withdrawn, wasted, given, granted, alienated, destroyed, and evill dispended, that he is so much impoverished and void of treasure and goods, and the substance of the Crown so much diminished and destroyed, that his estate may not honorably be sustained as appertaineth. The King of his free will at the request of the Lords and Commons, hath ordained William Archbishop of Canterbury and others with his Chancellour, Treasurer, keeper of his privy seal, to survey*

survey and examine as well the estate and governance of his house, &c. as of all the rents, and profits, and revenues that to him appertaineth, and to be due, or ought to appertain and be due, &c. And all manner of gifts, grants, alienations and confirmations made by him of lands, tenements, rents, &c. bargained and sold to the prejudice of him and his Crown, &c. And of his jewels & goods which were his Grand-fathers at the time of his death, &c. and where they be become.

This is in effect the substance of the commission, which your Lordship may read at large in the book of Statutes, this commission being enacted in the tenth year of the Kings reigne. Now if such a commission were in these dayes granted to the faithfull men that have no interest in the sales, gifts nor purchases, nor in the keeping of the jewells at the Queens death, nor in the obtaining, grants of the Kings best lands, I cannot say what may be recovered, and justly recovered; and what say your Lordship, was not this a noble act for the King, if it had been followed to effect?

COUNS. I cannot tell whether it were or no, for it gave power to the
D Com.

Commissioners to examine all the grants.

I u s t. Why my Lord, doth the King grant any thing, that shames at the examination? are not the Kings grants on record?

C o u n s. But by your leave, it is some dishonour to a King, to have his judgement called in question.

I u s t. That is true my Lord, but in this, or whensoever the like shall be granted in the future, the Kings judgement is not examined, but their knavery that abused the King. Nay by your favour, the contrary is true, that when a King will suffer himself to be eaten up by a company of petty fellows, by himself raised, therein both the judgement and courage is disputed, And if your Lordship will disdain it at your own servants hands, much more ought the great heart of a King to disdain it. And surely my Lord, it is a greater treason (though it undercreep the law) to tear from the Crown the ornaments thereof: And it is an infallible maxime, that he that loves not his Majesties estate, loves not his person.

C o u n s. How came it then, that the act was not executed?

I u s t.

IUST. Because these, against whom it was granted, perswaded the King to the contrary: as the Duke of Ireland, Suffolk, the chief Iustice Tresilian, and others, yea, that which was lawfully done by the King, and the great Councell of the kingdome, was (by the mastery which Ireland, Suffolk, and Tresilian had over the Kings affections) broken and disavowed. Those that devised to relieve the King, not by any private invention, but by generall Councell, were by a private and partiall assembly adjudged traitors, and the most honest Iudges of the land, enforced to subscribe to that judgement. In so much that Iudge Belknap plainly told the Duke of Ireland, and the Earl of Suffolk, when he was constrained to set his hand, plainly told these Lords, that he wanted but a rope, that he might therewith receive a reward for his subscription. And in this Councell of Nottingham was hatched the ruine of those which governed the King, of the Iudges by them constrained, of the Lords that loved the King, and sought a reformation, and of the King himself; for though the King found by all the Shrieves of

the shires, that the people would not fight against the Lords, whom they thought to bee most faithfull unto the King, when the Citizens of London made the same answer, being at that time able to arme 50000. men, and told the Major that they would never fight against the Kings friends, and defenders of the Realme, when the Lord *Ralph Passet*, who was near the King, told the King boldly that he would not adventure to have his head broken for the Duke of *Ireland's* pleasure, when the Lord of London told the Earle of *Suffolk* in the Kings presence, that he was not worthy to live, &c. yet would the King in the defence of the destroyers of his estate, lay ambushes to intrap the Lords, when they came upon his faith, yea when all was pacified, and that the King by his Proclamation had clear'd the Lords, and promised to produce *Ireland*, *Suffolk*, and the Archbishop of *Yorke*, *Tresilton*, and *Bramber*, to answer at the next Parliament, these men confest, that they durst not appear; and when *Suffolk* fled to *Callice*, and the Duke of *Ireland* to *Chester*, the King caused an army to be leaved in *Lancashire*, for the safe conduct of the

the Duke of Ireland to his presence, when as the Duke being encountered by the Lords, ranne like a coward from his company, and fled into *Holland*. After this was holden a Parliament, which was called that wrought wonders. In the Eleventh year of this King, wherein the fornamed Lords, the Duke of Ireland and the rest, were condemned and confiscate, the Chief Justice hanged with many others, the rest of the Iudges condemned, and banisht, and a 10. and a 15. given to the King.

COUNS. But good Sir: the King was first besieged in the Tower of London, and the Lords came to the Parliament, and no man durst contradict them.

IUST. Certainly in raising an army, they committed treason, and though it appear, that they all loved the King, (for they did him no harm, having him in their power) yet our law doth construe all leavying of war without the Kings commission, and all force raised to be intended for the death and destruction of the King, not attending the sequell. And it is so judged upon good reason, for every unlawfull and ill action is supposed

to be accompanied with an ill intent. And besides, those Lords used too great cruelty, in procuring the sentence of death against divers of the Kings servants, who were bound to follow and obey their Master and Sovereigne Lord, in that he commanded.

C O U N S. It is true, and they were also greatly to blame to cause then so many seconds to be put to death, seeing the principalls, *Ireland, Suffolk, and York* had escaped them, And what reason had they to seek to enform the State by strong hand, was not the Kings estate as dear to himself, as to them? He that maketh a King know his errour mannerly and private, and gives him the best advice, he is discharged before God and his own conscience. The Lords might have retired themselves, when they saw they could not prevail, and have left the King to his own wayes, who had more to lose then they had.

I u s r. My Lord, the taking of Arms cannot be excused in respect of the law, but this might be said for the Lords that the King being under yeares, and being wholly governed by
their

their enemies, and the enemies of the kingdome, and because by those evil mens perswasions, it was advised, how the Lords should have been murdered at a feast in *London*, they were excusable during the kings minority to stand upon their guard against their particular enemies. But we will passe it over & go on with our parliaments that followed, whereof that of Cambridge in the Kings 12th year was the next, therein the King had given him a 10th and a 15th, after which being 20. yeares of age rechanged (saith *H. Kinghton*) his Treasurer, his Chancellour, the Iustices of either bench, the Clerk of the privy seal and others, and took the government into his own hands. He also took the Admirals place from the Earl of Arundell, and in his room he placed the Earl of Huntingdon in the yeare following, which was the 13th year of the K. in the Parliament at Westminster there was given to the King upon every sack of wool 14s. and 6d. in the pound upon other Merchandise,

COUNS. But by your leave, the King was restrained this parliament, that he might not dispose of, but a third part of the money gathered.

I u s T. No my Lord, by your fa-
 vour. But true it is that part of this
 mony was by the Kings consent af-
 signed towards the wars, but yet left
 in the Lord Treasurers hands, and my
 Lord it would be a great ease, and a
 great saving to his Majesty our Lord
 and Master, if it pleased him to make
 his assignations upon some part of his
 revenewes, by which he might have
 1000l. upon every 10000l. and save
 himself a great deale of clamour. For
 seeing of necessity the Navy must be
 maintained, and that those poor men
 as well Carpenters as ship-keepers
 must be paid, it were better for his
 Majesty to give an assignation to the
 Treasurer of his Navy for the recei-
 ving of so much as is called ordinary,
 then to discontent those poor men,
 who being made desperate beggars,
 may perchance be corrupted by them
 that lye in wait to destroy the Kings
 estate. And if his Majesty did the like
 in all other payements, especially
 where the necessity of such as are to
 receive, cannot possible give dayes,
 his Majesty might then in a little
 rowle behold his receipts and expen-
 ces, he might quiet his heart when
 all necessaries were provided for, and
 then

then dispose the rest at his pleasure. And my good Lord, how excellently and easily might this have been done, if the 400000 l. had been raised as aforesaid upon the Kings lands, and wards I say that his Majesties House, his Navy, his guards, his pensioners, his munition, his Ambassadors and all else of ordinary charge might have been defrayed, and a great summe left for his Majesties casuall expences and rewards, I will not say they were not in love with the Kings estate, but I say they were unfortunately borne for the King that cost it.

COUNS. Well Sir, I would it had been otherwise, But for the assignments, there are among us that will not willingly indure it. Charity begins with it self, shall we hinder our selves of 50000 l. *per annum* to save the King 20? No Sir, what will become of our New-years gifts, our presents and gratuities? We can now say to those that have warrants for money, that there is not a penny in the Exchequer, but the King gives it away unto the Scots faster then it comes in.

IUST. My Lord you say well, at least you say the truth, that such are

some of our answers, and hence comes that generall murmure to all men that have money to receive, I say that there is not a penny given to that nation; be it for service or otherwise but is spread over all the kingdome: yea they gather notes, and take copies of all the privy seals and warrants that his Majesty hath given for the money for the Scots, that they may shew them in Parliament. But of his Majesties gifts to the English, there is no bruit though they may be tenne times as much as the Scots. And yet my good Lord, howsoever they be thus answered that to them sue for money out of the Exchequer, it is due to them for 10. or 12. or 20. in the hundred, abated according to their qualities that shew, they are alwaies furnished. For conclusion, if it would please God to put into the Kings heart to make their assignments, it would save him many a pound, and gain him many a prayer, and a great deal of love, for it grieveth every honest mans heart to see the abundance which even the petty officers in the Exchequer, and others gather both from the king and subject, and to see a world of poore men
runne

runne after the King for their ordinary wages.

C O U N S. Well, well, did you never hear this old tale, that when there was a great contentation about the weather the Seamen complaining of contrary windes, when those of the high Countreys desired rain, and those of the valleyes sunshining dayes, *Jupiter* sent them word by *Mercury*, then, when they had all done, the weather should be as it had been, And it shall ever fall out so with them that complain, the course of payments shall be as they have been, what care we what petty fellows say? or what care we for your papers? have not we the Kings cares, who dares contest with us? though we cannot be revenged on such as you are for telling the truth, yet upon some other pretence, wee'll clap you up, and you shall sue to us ere you get out. Nay wee'll make you confesse that you were deceived in your projects, and eat your own words: learn this of me Sir, that as a little good fortune is better then a great deal of virtue: so the least authority hath advantage over the greatest wit, was he not the wisest man that said *the battel*

was

was not the strongest, nor yet bread for the wise, nor riches to men of understanding, nor favour to men of knowledge: but what time and chance came to them all.

Iu s T. It is well for your Lordship that it is so. But Qu: Elizabeth would set the reason of a mean man, before the authority of the greatest Councillor she had, and by her patience therein she raised upon the usuall and ordinary customes of London without any new imposition above 50000l a year, for though the Treasurer *Barleigh*, and the Earle of Leicester and Secretary *Walshingham*, all three pensioners to Customer *Smith*, did set themselves against a poor waiter of the Custome-house called *Carmarden*, and commanded the groomes of the privy Chamber not to give him access, yet the Queen sent for him, and gave him countenance against them all. It would not serve the turn, my Lord, with her; when your Lordships would tell her, that the disgracing her great officers by hearing the complaints of busie heads, was a dishonour to her self, but she had alwayes this answer, That if any men complain unjustly against a Magistrate, it were reason he should be severely punished, if just-ly,

ly, shee was *Queen of the small*, as well as of the great, and would hear their complaints. For my good Lord, a Prince that suffereth himself to be besieged, forsaketh one of the greatest regalities belonging to a Monarchie, to wit, the last appeal, or as the French call it, *le dernier resort*.

COUNS. Well Sir, this from the matter, I pray you go on.

IUST. Then my Lord, in the Kings 15. year he had a tenth and a fifteen graunted in Parliament of London. And that same year there vvas a great Councell called at Stamford to vvhich diuerse men vvere sent for, of diuerse counties besides the Nobility, of vvhich the King took advice vvhether he should continue the vvar, or make a finall end vvith the French.

COUNS. What needed the King to take the advice of any but of his ovvn Councell in matter of peace or vvarre.

IUST. Yea my Lord, for it is said in the Proverbs, *where are many counsellors, there is healib.* And if the King had made the vvarre by a generall consent, the Kingdome in generall vvere bound to maintain the vvarre,
and

and they could not then say when the King required aid, that he undertook a needlesse vvarre.

COUNS. You say vvell, but I pray you go on.

IUST. After the subtedy in the 15. yeare, the King desired to borrow 10000l. of the Londoners, vvhich they refused to lend.

COUNS. And vvas not the King greatly troubled therevwith.

IUST. Yea but the King troubled the Londoners soon after, for the king took the advantage of a ryot made upon the Bishop of Salisbury his men, sent for the Major, and other the ablest citizens, comitted the Major to prison in the Castle of Windsor, and others to other castles, and made a Lord Warden of this citie, till in the end vvhath vwith 10000l. ready money, and other rich presents, instead of lending 10000l. it cost them 2000l. Betvveen the fifteenth yeare and tvventieth yeare, he had tvvo aides given him in the Parliaments of Winchester and Westminster: and this later vvas given to furnish the Kings journey into Ireland, to establish that estate vvhich vvas greatly shaken since the death of the

the Kings Grandfather, vvho received thence yearly 30000*l*. and during the Kings stay in Ireland he had a 10th and a 5th granted.

COUNS. And good reason, for the King had in his army 4000. horse and 30000. foot.

IUST. That by your favour, vvvas the Kings savity: for great armies do rather devour themselves then destroy enemies. Such an army, (vvhereof the fourth part vvould have conquered all Ireland) vvvas in respect of Ireland such an army as *Xerxes* led into Greece in this tvventieth year, vvherein he had a tenth of the Clergy, vvvas the great conspiracy of the Kings unkle, the Duke of Gloucester, and of Moubrey, Arundell, Nottingham, and Warvvick, the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Abbot of Westminster, and others vvho in the one and tvventieth year of the King vvvere all redeemed by Parliament, and vvhat thinks your Lordship, vvvas not this assemblie of the 3. states for the kings estate, vvherein he so prevailed, that he not onely overthrevv those popular Lords, but besides (the English Chronicle saith, the king so vvrought and brought things about, that he obtained the

the power of both houses to be granted to certain persons, to 15. Noblemen and Gentlemen, or to seven of them.

COUNS. Sir, whether the King wrought well or if I cannot judge, but our Chronicles say, that many things were done in this Parliament, to the displeasure of no small number of people, to wit, for that diverse rightfull heires were disinherited of their lands and livings, with which wrongfull doings the people were much offended, so that the King with those that were about him, and chief in Counsell, came into great infamy & slander.

IUST. My good Lord, if your Lordship will pardon mee, I am of opinion that those Parliaments where in the Kings of this land have satisfied the people, as they have been ever prosperous, so where the King hath restrained the house, the contrary hath happened, for the Kings achievements in this Parliament, were the ready preparations to his ruine.

COV. You mean by the generall discontentment that followed, and because the King did not proceed legally with Gloucester and others. Why
Sir,

Sir, this was not the first time that the Kings of England have done things without the Counsell of the land: yea, contrary to the law.

I u s r. It is true my Lord in some particulars, as even at this time the Duke of Gloucester was made away at Callice by strong hand, without any lawfull triall: for he was a man so beloved of the people and so allied, having the Dukes of Lancaster, and York his brethren, the Duke of Aumarle, and the Duke of Hertford his Nephewes, the great Earles of Arundell and Warwicke, with diverse other of his part in the conspiracy, as the King durst not trie him according to the law: for at the triall of Arundell and Warwicke, the King was forced to entertaine a petty army about him. And though the Duke was greatly lamented, yet it cannot be denyed but that he was then a traitor to the King. And was it not so my Lord with the Duke of Guise: your Lordship doth remember the spurgald proverb, that *necessitie hath no law*: and my good Lord, it is the practice of doing wrong, and of generall wrongs done, that brings danger, and not where Kings are prest in this or that

that particular , for there is great difference between naturall cruelty and accidentall. And therefore it was *Machiavels* advice , that all that a King did in that kind , he shall do at once , and by his mercies afterwards make the world know that his cruelty was not affected. And my Lord take this for a generall rule, that the immortall policy of a state cannot admit any law or priviledge whatsoever, but in some particular or other, the same is necessarily broken, yea in an *Aristocratie* or popular estate, which vaunts so much of equality and common right , more outrage hath been committed then in any Christian Monarchy.

COUNS. But whence came this hatred between the Duke and the King his Nephew.

IUST. My Lord, the Dukes constraining the King , when he was young , stuck in the Kings heart , and now the Dukes proud speech to the King when he had rendred *Bress* formerly engaged to the Duke Brittain, kindled again these coales that were not altogether extinguished , for he used these words : Your grace ought to put your body in great pain to winne a strong hold or town by feats of armes , ere you
ta'e

take upon you to sell or deliver any town gotten by the manhood and strong hand and policy of your noble progenitors. Whereat, saith the story, the King changed his countenance, &c. and to say truth, it was a proud and maisterly speech of the Duke; besides that inclusively he taxed him of sloath and cowardise, as if he had never put himself to the adventure of winning such a place, undutifull words of a subject do often take deeper root then the memory of ill deeds do: The Duke of Biron found it when the King had him at advantage. Yea the late Earle of Essex told Queen Elizabeth that her conditions was as crooked as her carkasse: but it cost him his head, which his insurrection had not cost him, but for that speech, *who will say unto a King (saith Iob) thou art wicked.* Certainly it is the same thing to say unto a Lady, thou art crooked (and perchance more) as to say unto a King that he is wicked, and to say that he is a coward, or to use any other words of disgrace, it is one and the same error.

COUNS. But what say you for Arundell, a brave and valiant man, who had
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the Kings pardon of his contempt during his minority.

* I u s T. My good Lord, the Parliament which you say disputes the Kings prerogative, did quite contrary, and destroyed the Kings charter and pardon formerly given to Arundell. And my good Lord, do you remember, that at the Parliament that wrought wonders, when these Lords compounded that Parliament, as the King did this, they were so mercilesse towards all, that they thought their enemies, as the Earle of Arundell most insolently suffered the Qu: to kneel unto him three houres for the saving of one of her servants, and that scorne of his *mauebat alio mente repossum*. And to say the truth, it is more barbarous & unpardonable then any act that ever he did to permit the wife of his Soveraign to kneel to him being the Kings vassell. For if he had saved the Lords servant freely at her first request, as it is like enough that the Qu: would also have saved him, *Miseris succurrens paria obtinibis aliquando*: For your Lordship sees that the Earle of Warwicke who was as farre in the treason as any of the rest, was pardoned. It was also at this Parlia-

liament that the Duke of Hereford accused *Monbray* Duke of Norfolke, and that the Duke of Hereford Sonne to the Duke of Lancaster, was banished to the Kings confusion, as your Lordship well knows.

COUNS. I know it well and God knows that the King had then a silly and weak Councell about him, that perswaded him to banish a Prince of the bloud, a most valiant man, and the best beloved of the people, in generall of any man living, especially considering that the King gave every day more then other offence to his subjects. For besides that he fined the inhabitants that assisted the Lords in his Minority (of the 17. shires) which offence he had long before pardoned, his blank Charters, and letting the Realme to farme to mean persons, by whom he was wholly advised, increased the peoples hatred towards the present government.

IUST. You say well my L. Princes of an ill destiny do alwayes follow the worst counsell, or at least embrace the best after opportunity is lost, *qui consilium non ex suo corde sed alienis viribus colligunt, non animo sed auribus cogitant.* And this was not the least grief of the subject
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in generall, that those men had the greatest part of the spoil of the commonwealth, which neither by virtue, valour or counsell could adde any thing unto it: *Nil est sordidius, nihil crudelius* (saith *Anto: Pius*) *quam si Remp. ii. arrode, qui nihil in eam suo labore conferent.*

COUNS. Indeed the letting to farm the Realm was very grievous to the subject.

IUST. Will your Lordship pardon me if I tell you that the letting to farm of his Majesties Customes (the greatest revenue of the Realm) is not very pleasing.

COUNS. And why I pray you, doth not the King thereby raise his profits every third yeare, & one farmer outbids another to the Kings advantage

IUST. It is true my Lord, but it grieves the subject to pay custome to the subject, for what mighty men are those Farmers become, and if those Farmers get many thousands every yeate, as the world knows they do, why should they not now (being men of infinite wealth) declare unto the King upon oath, what they have gained, and henceforth become the Kings collectors of his Custome, did not
Queen

Queen *Elizabeth* who was reputed both a wise and just Princess, after she had brought *Customs* *Smith* from 14000l. a yeare to 42000l. a yeare, made him lay down a recompence for that which he had gotten? and if these Farmers do give no recompence, let them yet present the King with the truth of their receivings and profits. But my Lord for conclusion, after *Bullingbrook* arriving in *England* with a small troop: Notwithstanding the King at his Landing out of *Ireland*, had a sufficient and willing army: yet he wanting courage to defend his right gave leave to all his Souldiers to depart, and put himself into his hands that cast him into his grave.

C O U N S. Yet you see he was depos'd by Parliament.

I u s r. Aswell may your Lordship say he was knock't in the head by Parliament, for your Lordship knows that if King *Richard* had ever escaped out of their fingers that deposed him, the next Parliament would have made all the depoters traitours and Rebels, and that justly. In which Parliament, or rather unlawfull assembly, there appeared but one honest man, to wit, the B. of *Carlisle*, who scorned

scorned his life, and estate, in respect of right and his allegiance, and defended the right of his Sovereigne Lord against the Kings elect and his partakers.

COUNS. Well I pray goe on with the Parliaments held in the time of his successor *Henry the fourth*.

IUST. This King had in his third year a subtedy, and in his fift a tenth of the Clergy without a Parliament; In his sixt year he had so great a subtedy, as the House requiried there might be no record thereof left to posterity, for the House gave him 20s. of every Knights Fee, and of every 20l. land, 20d. and 12d. the pound of goods.

COUNS. Yea in the end of this year, the Parliament prest the King to annex unto the Crown all temporall possessions belonging to Churchmen within the land, which at that time, was the third foot of all *England*. But the Bishops made friends, and in the end saved their estates.

IUST. By this you see, my Lord, that *Cromwell* was not the first that thought on such a business. And if King *Henry the 8.* had reserved the Abbeyes, and other Church lands, which he had given

given at that time, the revenue of the Crown of *England*, had exceeded the revenue of the Crown of *Spain*, with both the *Indies*, whereas used as it was, (a little enriched the Crown) served but to make a number of pettifoggers, and other gentlemen.

COUNS. But what had the King instead of this great revenue

IUSR. He had a 15th of the Commons, and tenth, and a half of the Clergy, and withall, all pensions granted by King *Edward*, and King *Richard* were made void. It was also moved that all Crown lands formerly given (at least given by King *Edw:* and King *Richard*) should be taken back.

COUNS. What think you of that, Sir? would it not have been a dishonour to the King? and would not his Successors have done the like to those that the King had advanced?

IUSR. I cannot answer your Lordship, but by distinguishing, for where the Kings had given land for services, and had not been over-reached in his gifts, there it had been a dishonour to the King, to have made void the grants of his predecessors, or his grants, but all those grants of the
E Kings,

Kings, wherein they were deceived, the very custome and policy of *England* makes them voyd at this day.

COUNS. How mean you that, for his Majestie hath given a great deal of Land among us since he came into *England*, and would it stand with the K. honour to take it from us again.

IUST. Yea my Lord, very well with the Kings honour, if your Lordship, or any Lord else, have under the name of 100l. land a year, gotten 500l. land, and so after that rate.

COUNS. I will never believe that his Majesty will ever doe any such thing.

IUST. And I believe as your Lordship doth, but we spake e're while of those that dissuaded the King from calling it a Parliament: And your Lordship asked me the reason, why any man should dissuade it, or fear it, to which, this place gives me an opportunity to make your Lordship answer, for though his Majesty will of himself never question those grants yet when the Commons shall make humble petition to the King in Parliament, that it will please his Majesty to assist them in his relief, with that which ought to be his own, which, if it will please his Majesty to yeild unto

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the house will most willingly furnish
 & supply the rest, with what grace can
 his Majesty deny that honest suit of
 theirs, the like having been done in
 many Kings times before? This pro-
 ceeding may good Lord, my perchance
 prove all your phrases of the Kings
 honour, false *English*.

COUNS. But this cannot concern
 any, and for my self, I am sure it
 concerns me little.

IUST. It is true my Lord, & there
 are not many that dissuade his Maje-
 stie from a Parliament.

CO. But they are great ones, a few of
 which will serve the turn wel enough.

IUST. But my Lord, be they never so
 great (as great as Gyants) yet if they
 dissuade the King from his ready and
 sure way of his subsistence, they
 must devise how the K. may be else-
 where supplied, for they otherwise
 will bring him into a dangerous fortune.

COUNS. Hold you contented Sir,
 the King needs no great dissuasion.

IUST. My Lord, learn of me, that
 there is none of you all, than can
 dissuade the King. It is an essentiall pro-
 perty of a manerely wise, not to o-
 pen all the boxes of his bosome, even
 to those that are near'st & dear'st unto

E 2 him,

him, for when a man is discovered to the very bottome, he is after the lesse esteemed. I dare undertake, that when your Lordship hath served the King twice twelve years more, you will find, that his Majesty hath reserved somewhat beyond all your capacities, his Majesty hath great reason to put off the Parliament, at his last refuge, and in the meantime, to make tryall of all your loves to serve him, for his Majesty hath had good experience, how well you can serve your selves: But when the King finds, that the building of your own fortunes and factions, hath been the diligent studies, and the service of his Majesty, but the exercises of your pleasures: He may then perchance cast himself upon the generall love of his people, of which (I trust) he shall never be deceived, and leave as many of your Lordships as have pilfered from the Crown, to their examination.

COUNS. Well Sir, I take no great pleasure in this dispute, goe on I pray.

IUST. In that Kings 5th year, he had also a subtedy, which is got by holding the house together from Ea

ste

ed to ster to Christmas, and would not suf-
 fesse for them to depart. He had also a sub-
 sidy in his ninth year. In his eleventh
 year the commons did again presse
 the King to take all the temporalities
 of the Church men into his hands,
 which they proved sufficient to main-
 tain 150. Earls, 1500. Knights, and
 6400. Esquiers, with a hundred hospi-
 tals, but they not prevailing, gave the
 King a subsidy.

As for the notorious Prince, *Henry*
 the first, I find, that he had given him
 in his second year 300000. markes,
 and after that two other subsidies,
 one in his fifth year, another in his
 ninth, without any disputes.

In the time of his successor *Henry*
 the sixth, there were not many subse-
 dies. In this third year, he had a subse-
 dy of a Tunnage and poundage. And
 here (saith *John Stow*) began those
 payements, which we call customes,
 because the payement was continued,
 whereas before that time it was gran-
 ted but for a year two or three, ac-
 cording to the Kings occasions. He
 had also an ayde & gathering of mo-
 ney in his fourth year, and the like in
 his tenth year, and in his thirteenth
 year a 15th He had also a fifteenth for

the conveying of the Queen out of *France* into *England*. In the twenty eight year of that King was the act of Resumption of all honours, towns, castles, Signeuries, villages, Manors, lands, tenements, rents, reversions, fees, &c. But because the wages of the Kings servants, were by the strictness of the act also restrained, this act of Resumption was expounded in the Parliament at *Reading* the 31th year of the Kings reigne.

COUNS. I perceive that those acts of Resumption were ordinary in former times; for King *Stephen* resumed the lands, which in former times he had given to make friends during the Civill wars. And *Henry* the second resumed all (without exception) which King *Stephen* had not resumed; for although King *Stephen* took back a great deal, yet he suffered his trustiest servants to enjoy his gift.

IUST. Yes my Lord, and in after times also; for this was not the last, nor shall be the last, I hope. And judge you my Lord, whether the Parliaments doe not only serve the King, whatsoever is said to the contrary; for as all King *Henry* the 6. gifts & graunts were

were made void by the Duke of York when he was in possession of the Kingdom by Parliament. So in the time of K. H. when K. Edw. was beaten out again, the Parliament of Westminster made all his acts voyd, made him and all his followers traytors, and gave the King many of their heads & lands. The Parliaments of England do alwayes serve the King in possession. It served Rich. the second to condemne the popular Lords. It served Bollingbrooke to depose Rich. When Edw. the 4. had the Scepter, it made them all beggars that had followed H. the 6. And it did the like for H. when Edw. was driven out. The Parliaments are as the friendship of this world is, which alwayes followeth prosperity. For King Edw. the 4. after that he was possessed of the Crown, he had in his 13. year a subsidy freely given him: and in the year following he took a benevolence through England, which arbitrary taking from the people, served that ambitious traytor the Duke of Bucks. After the Kings death was a plausible argument to perswade the multitude, that they should not permit (saith Sir

Thomas Moore) his line to raigne any longer upon them.

COUNS. Well Sir, what say you to the Parliament of *Richard* the third his time ?

IUST. I find but one, and therein he made diverse good Laws. For King *Henry* the seventh in the beginning of his third year he had by Parliament an ayde granted unto him, towards the relief of the Duke of *Brittain*, then assailed by the French King. And although the King did not enter into the warre, but by the advice of the three estates, who did willingly contribute : Yet those Northern men which loved *Richard* the third, raised rebellion under colour of the money impos'd, and murthered the Earle of *Northumberland* whom the King employed in that Collection. By which your Lordship sees, that it hath not been for taxes and impositions alone, that the ill disposed have taken Armes ; but even for those payments which have been appointed by Parliament.

COUNS. And what became of these Rebels ?

IUST. They were fairly hang'd, & the money levied notwithstanding
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in the Kings first year he gathered a marvailous great masse of money, by a benevolence, taking pattern by this kind of levie from *Edw. 4th.* But the King caused it first to be moved in Parliament where it was allowed, because the poorer sort were therein spared. Yet it is true that the King used some art, for in his Letters he declared that he would measure every mans affections by his gifts. In the thirteenth year he had also a subsidy, whereupon the Cornish men took Armes, as the Northern men of the Bishoprick had done in the third year of the King,

COUNS. It is without example, that ever the people have rebelled for any thing granted by Parliament, save in this Kings dayes.

IUST. Your Lordship must consider, that he was not over much beloved, for he took many advantages upon the people and the Nobility both.

COUNS. And I pray you what say they now of the new impositions lately laid by the Kings Majesty? do they say that they are justly or unjustly laid?

E. 5.

IUST.

Ius r. To Impose upon all things brought into the Kingdome is very ancient : which imposing when it hath been continued a certain time, is then called Customs, because the subjects are accustomed to pay it, and yet the great tax upon wine is still called Impost, because it was imposed after the ordinary rate of payement, had lasted many years. But we do now a dayes understand those things to be impositions, which are raised by the command of Princes, without the advice of the Common-wealth, though (as I take it) much of that which is now called custome, was at the first imposed by Prerogative royall : Now whether it be time or consent that makes them just, I cannot define, were they just because new, and not justified yet by time, or unjust because they want a generall consent; yet is this rule of *Aristotle* verified in respect of his Majestie : *Minus timent homines iniustum pati à principe quem cultorem Dei putant.* Yea my Lord, they are also the more willingly borne, because all the world knows they are no new Invention of the Kings. And if those that advised his Majestie to impose them,

them, had raised his lands (as it was offered them) to 20000*l.* more then it was, and his wards to as much as afore-said, they had done him farre more acceptable service. But they had their own ends in refusing the one, and accepting the other. If the land had been raised, they could not have selected the best of it for themselves: If the impositions had not been laid, some of them could not have their silks, other pieces in farme, which indeed grieved the subject ten times more then that which his Majestie enjoyeth. But certainly they made a great advantage that were the advisers, for if any tumult had followed his Majesty, ready way had been so have delivered them over to the people.

COUNS. But think you that the King would have delivered them if any troubles had followed?

IUS. I know not my Lord, it was *Machiavels* counsell to *Cesar Borgia* to doe it, and King H. the 8. delivered up *Empson* and *Dudley*: yea the same King, when the great Cardinall *Woolsey*, who governed the King

King and all his estate, had (by requiring the sixt part of every mans goods for the King) raised a rebellion , the King I say disavowed him absolutely, that had not the Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk* appeased the people , the Cardinall had sung no more Masse: for these are the words of our Story : The King then came to *Westminster* to the Cardinals Palace, and assembled there a great Councell , in which he protested , that *his mind was never to take any thing of his commons which might sound to the breach of his Lawes.* Wherefore he then willed them to know by whose means they were so strictly given forth. Now my Lord, how the Cardinall would have shifted himself, by saying , *I had the opinion of the Iudges* , had not the rebellion been appeased , I greatly doubt.

COUNS. But good Sir, you blanch my question, and answer me by examples. I aske you whether or no in any such tumult , the people pretending against any one or two great Officers, the King should deliver them , or defend them ?

IUST. My good Lord, the people have not stayed for the Kings delivery,

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neither in *England*, nor in *France*: Your Lordship knows how the Chancellour, Treasurer, and Chief Iustice, with many others at severall times have been used by the Rebels: And the Marshals, Constables, and Treasurers in *France*, have been cut in pieces in *Charles* the sixt his time. Now to your Lordships question, I say that where any man shall give a King perilous advice, as may either cause a Rebellion, or draw the peoples love from the King, I say, that a King shall be advised to banish him: But if the King do absolutely command his servant to do anything displeasing to the Common-wealth, and to his own perill, there is the King bound in honour to defend him. But any good Lord for conclusion, there is no man in *England* that will lay any invention either grievous or against law upon the Kings Majesty: and therefore your Lordships must share it amongst you.

COUNS. For my part, I had no hand in it, (I thinke) *Agnew* was he that propounded it to the Treasurer.

IUST. Alas, my good Lord, every poor wailer in the Customs-house, or every promoter might have done it, there is no invention in these things,
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To lay impositions, and sell the Kings lands, are poor and common devices. It is true that *Ingram* and his fellows are odious men, and therefore his Majesty pleas'd the people greatly to put him from the Coffership. It is better for a Prince to use such a kind of men, then to countenance them, hangmen are necessary in a common wealth: yet in the Netherlands, none but a hangmans sonne will marry a hangmans daughter. Now my Lord, the last gathering which *Henry* the seventh made, was in his twentieth year, wherein he had another benevolence both of the Clergy and Laity, a part of which taken of the poorer sort, he ordained by his testament that it should be restored. And for King *Henry* the eight, although he was left in a most plentiful estate, yet he wonderfully prest his people with great payments, for in the beginning of his time it was infinite that he spent in Masking and Tiling, Banquetting, and other vanities, before he was entred into the most consuming expence of the most fond and fruitlesse warre that ever King undertook. In his fourth yeare he had one of the greatest subsidies that ever was

was granted; for besides two fifteens and two dismes, he used *David's* Law of Capitation or head money, and had of every Duke ten marks, of every Earl five pounds, of every Lord four pounds, of every Knight four marks and every man rated at $\text{£}1$. in goods, 4. marks, and so after the rate: yea every man that was valued but at 40l paid 12d, and every man and woman above 15. yeares 4d. He had also in his sixt yeare divers subsidies granted him. In his fourteenth their was a tenth demanded of every mans goods, but it was moderated, In the Parliament following, the Clergie gave the King the half of their spirituall livings for one yeare, and of the Laity there was demanded 800000l, which could not be leaved in England, but it was a marvellous great gift that the king had given him at that time. In the Kings seventeenth yeare was the Rebellion before spoken of, wherein the King disavowed the Cardinall: In his seventeenth yeare he had the tenth and fifteenth given by Parliament, which were before that time paid to the Pope. And before that also, the moneys that the King borrowed

In his fifteenth yeare were forgiven him by Parliament in his seventeenth yeare. In his 35. yeare a subfedy was granted of 4d. the pound of every man worth in goods from 20s. to 5l, from 5l. to 10l. and upwards of every pound 2s. And all strangers, denizens, and others doubled this summe. strangers not being inhabitants above 16. yeares 4d. a head. All that had Lands, Fees, and Annuities, from 20. to 5. and so double as they did for goods: And the Clergy gave 6d. the pound. In the thirty seventh yeare, a Benevolence was taken not voluntary, but rated by Commissioners, which because one of the Aldermen refused to pay, he was sent for a souldier into Scotland. He had also another great subfedy of six shillings the pound of the Clergy, and two shillings eight pence of the goods of the Laity, and four shillings the pound upon Lands.

In the second yeare of *Edward the sixt*, the Parliament gave the King an aid of twelve pence the pound of goods of his Naturall subjects, and two shillings the pound of strangers, and this to continue for three yeares, and by the statute of the second and third of *Edward the sixt*, it may appear, the

the same Parliament did also give a second aid, as followeth, (to wit) of every Ewe kept in severall pastures, 3d : of every weather kept as aforesaid 2d : of every sheep kept in the Common, 1d. ob. The House gave the King also 8d. the pound of every woollen cloath made for the sale throughout *England* for three years. In the third and fourth, of the King, by reason of the troublesome gathering of the poll money upon sheep, and the tax upon cloath, this act of subsidy was repeal'd, and other relief given the King, and in the seventh year he had a subsidy and two fifteens.

In the first yeare of *Queen Mary*, tunnage and poundage were granted. In the second yeare a subsidy was given to *King Philip*, and to the *Queen*, she had also a third subsidy in *Ann's* 4.
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Elix. Reg. Now my Lord, for the Parliaments of the late *Queens* time, in which there was nothing new, neither head money, nor sheep money, nor escuage, nor any of these kinds of payments was required, but onely the ordinary subsidies, and those as easily granted as demanded, I shall not need to trouble your Lordship with a-
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ny of them, neither can I inform your Lordship of all the passages and acts which have passed, for they are not extant, nor printed.

C O U N S. No, it were but time lost to speak of the latter, and by those that are already remembred, we may judge of the rest, for those of the greatest importance are publick. But I pray you deal freely with me, what you think would be done for his Majesty, If he should call a Parliament at this time, or what would be required at his Majesties hands?

I u s r. The first thing that would be required, would be the same that was required by the Commons in the thirteenth yeare of Hen. the eight (to wit) that if any man of the commons house should speak more largely, then of duty he ought to do, all such offences to be pardoned, and that to be of record.

C O U N S. So might every Companion speak of the King what they list.

I u s r. No my Lord, the reverence which a Vassall oweth to his Sovereigne, is alwaies intended for every speech, howsoever it must import the good of the King, and his estate, and so long it may be easily pardoned, otherwise

therwise not; for in *Queen Elizabeths* time, who gave freedome of speech in all Parliaments, when *Wentworth* made those motions, that were but supposed dangerous to the *Queens* estate, he was imprisoned in the Tower, notwithstanding the priviledge of the house, and there died.

COUNS. What say you to the *Scitilian* *vesters* remembered in the last Parliament?

IUST. I say, he repented him heartily that used that speech, and indeed besides that, it was seditious, this example held not: The *French* in *Scitily* usurped that Kingdom, they neither kept law nor faith, they took away the inherirance of the Inhabitants, they took from them their wives, and ravished their daughters, committing all other insolencies that could be imagined. The Kings Majesty is the Naturall Lord of *England*, his Vassals of *Scotland* obey the English Laws, if they break them, they are punished without respect. Yea his Majesty put one of his Barons to a shamefull death, for being consenting onely to the death of a Common Fencer: And which of these ever did or durst commit any outrage in *England*,
but

but to say the truth, the opinion of packing the last, was the cause of the contention and disorder that happened.

COUNS. Why sir? do you not think it best to compound a Parliament of the Kings servants and others, that shall in all obey the Kings desires?

IUSR. Certainly no, for it hath never succeeded well, neither on the kings part, nor on the subjects, as by the Parliament before-remembered your Lordship may gather, for from such a composition do arise all jealousies, and all contentions. It was practized in elder times, to the great trouble of the kingdome, and to the losse and ruine of many. It was of latter time used by King *Henry* the eight, but every way to his disadvantage. When the King leaves himself to his people, they assure themselves that they are trusted and beloved of their king, and there was never any assembly so barbarous, as not to answer the love and trust of their King. *Henry* the sixt when his estate was in effect utterly overthrowen, and utterly impoverished at the humble request of his Treasurer made the same known to the House: Or otherwise, using the Treasurers own words. He humbly desired

sued the King to take his Staffe, that he might save his wardship.

COUNS. But you know, they will presently be in hand with those impositions, which the King hath laid by his own Royall Prerogative.

IUST. Perchance not my Lord; but rather with those impositions that have been by some of your Lordships laid upon the King, which did not some of your Lordships fear more then you do the impositions laid upon the Subjects, you would never dissuade his Majesty from a Parliament: For no man doubted, but that his Majesty was advised to lay those impositions by his Councell, and for particular things on which they were laid, the advice came from penny fellows (though now great ones) belonging to the Custome-House. Now my Lord, what prejudice hath his Majesty (his Revenue being kept up) if the impositions that were laid by the generall Councell of the Kingdome, which takes off all grudging and complaint.

COUNS. Yes Sir, but that which is done by the King, with the advice of his private or privy Councell, is done by the Kings absolute power.

IUST. And by whose power it is done

done in parliament, but by the Kings absolute power? Mistake it not my Lord: The three Estates do but advise, as the privy Councell doth, which advice if the King imbrace, it becomes the Kings own Act int. e. one, and the Kings Law in the other, for without the Kings acceptation, both the publick and private advices be but as empty Egg shells: and what doth His Majesty lose if some of those things, which concerns the poorer sort to be made free again, and the Revenue kept up upon that which is superfluous? Is it a losse to the King to be beloved of the Commons? If it be revenue which the King seeks, is it not better to take it of those that laugh, then of those that cry? Yea if all be content to pay upon moderation & change of the Species: Is it not more honourable and more safe for the King, that the Subject pay by perswasion, then to have them constrained? If they be contented to whip themselves for the King, were it not better to give them the Rod into their hands, then to commit them to the Executioner? Certainly it is farre more happy for a Sovereigne Prince, that a Subject open his purse willingly, then that the same be opened by violence.

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Besides, that when impositions are laid by Parliament, they are gathered by the authority of the Law, which (as aforesaid) rejecteth all complaints, and stoppeth every mutinous mouth: It shall ever be my prayer that the King embrace the Council of Honour and safety, and let other Princes imbrace that of force.

C O U N S. But good Sir, it is his Prerogative which the King stands upon, & it is the Prerogative of the Kings, that the Parliaments do all diminish.

I u s t. If your Lordship would pardon me, I would say then, that your Lordships objection against Parliaments is ridiculous. In former Parliaments three things have been supposed dishonour of the King. The first, that the Subjects have conditioned with the King, when the King hath needed them, to have the great Charter confirmed: The second, that the Estates have made Treasurers for the necessary and profitable disbursing of those sums by them given, to the end, that the Kings, to whom they were given, should expend them for their own defence, & for the defence of the Commonwealth. The third, that these have prest the King to discharge some great Officers of the Crown,

Crown, and to elect others. As touching the first my Lord, I would fain learn what disadvantage the Kings of this Land have had by confirming the great Charter, the breach of which have served onely men of your Lordships rank, to assise their own passions, and to punish and imprison at their own discretion the Kings poor Subjects. Concerning their private hatred, with the colour of the Kings service, for the Kings Majestie take no mans inheritance, (as I have said before) nor any mans life, but the Law of the Land, according to the Charter. Neither doth his Majestie imprison any man (matter of practice, which concerns, the preservation of his estate excepted) but by the law of the land. And yet he useth his prerogative as all the Kings of *England* have ever used it: for the suprem reason cause to practise many things without the advice of the law. As insurrections and rebellions, it useth the marshall, and not the common law, without any breach of the Charter, the intent of the Charter considered truely. Neither hath any Subject made complaint, or been grieved, in that the Kings of this land, for their own safeties, and preservation
of

of their estates, have used their Prerogatives, the great Ensigne, on which there is written *soli Deo*. And my good Lord, was not *Buckingham* in *England*, and *Byron* in *France* condemned, their Peers uncalled? And withall, was not *Byron* utterly (contrary to the customs & priviledges of the *French*) denied an advocate to assist his defence? for where lawes foresaith cannot provide remedies for future dangers, Princes are forced to assist themselves by their Prerogatives. But that which hath been ever grievous, and the cause of many troubles, very dangerous is, that your Lordships abusing the reasons of state, do punish and imprison the K. Subjects at your pleasure. It is you my Lords, that when Subjects have sometimes need of the Kings prerogative, do then use the strength of the Law, and when they require the law, you afflict them with the prerogative, and tread the great Charter (which hath been confirmed by 16. Acts of Parliament) under your feet, as a torn parchment or waste paper?

G O U R N. Good Sir, which of us do in this time break the great Charter? perchance you mean, that we have advised the King to lay the new impositions.

I u s T. No my Lord: there is nothing in the great Charter against impositions: and besides that, necessity doth perswade them. And if necessity do in somewhat excuse a private man *à fortiori*, it may then excuse a Prince. Again the Kings Majesty hath profit and increase of revenue by the impositions. But there are of your Lordships (contrarie to the direct Letter of the Charter) that imprison the Kings Subjects, and deny them the benefit of the Law, to the Kings disprofit. And what do you otherwise thereby (if the impositions be in any sort grievous) but *Renovare dolares*? And with all digg out of the dust the long buried memorie of the Subjects former intentions with their Kings.

C O U N S. What mean you by that?

I u s T. I will tell your Lordship when I dare, in the mean time it is enough for me, to put your Lordship in mind, that all the Estates in the World, in the offence of the people, have either had profit or necessity to perswade them to adventure it, of which, if neither be urgent, and yet the Subject exceedingly grieved, your Lordship may conjecture, that the House will be humble suitors for a redresse. And if it be a Maxime in policy

no- to please the people in all things in-
 im- different, and never suffer them to be
 Si y beaten, but for the Kings benefit (for
 lity there are no blows forgotten with the
 nan smart but those) then I say to make
 ice. them Vassals to Vassals, is but to batter
 of fit down those mastering buildings, erect-
 po- ed by K Henry the 7. & fortified by his
 ord- son, by which the people and Gentry
 r of of England were brought to depend
 ings upon the King alone. Yea my good
 r of Lord, our late dear Sovereign Q. Eliz.
 And kept them up, & to their advantage, as
 the well repaired as ever Prince did Defend
 us) me, & spend me, saith the Irish Churle.

igg COUNS. Then you think that this
 ne- violent breach of the Charter will be
 ren- the cause of seeking the conformation
 of it in the next Parliament, which o-
 hat? therwise could never have bin moved.

hip I u s T. I know not my good Lord-
 s e- perchance not, for if the House presse
 hip the King to graunt unto them all that
 the is theirs by the Law, they cannot (in
 ple, iustice) refuse the King all that is his
 y to by the Law. And where will be the is-
 of sue of such a contention? I dare not
 the divine, but sure I am that it will tend
 our to the prejudice both of the King and
 the Subject.

re- COUNS. If they dispute not their
 licy own liberties, why should they then
 to

the Kings liberties, which we call his Prerogative.

I u s t. Among so many and so divers Spirits, no man can foretell what may be propounded, but howsoever, if the matter be not slightly handled on the Kings behalf, these disputes will soon dissolve for the King hath so little need of his Prerogative, & so great advantage by the Lawes, as the fear of impairing the one, to wit, the Prerogative, is so impossible, and the burthen of the other, to wit, the Law, so weighty, as but by a branch of the Kings Prerogative, namely, of his remission and pardon, the Subject is no way able to undergo it. This my Lord is no matter of flourish that I have said; but it is the truth, and unanswerable.

C o n s. But to execute the Laws very severely, would be very grievous.

I u s t. Why my Lord, are the Laws grievous which our selves have requir'd of our Kings? And are the Prerogatives also which our Kings have reserved to themselves also grievous? How can such a people then be well pleased? And if your Lordship confess that the Lawes give too much, why does your Lordship urge the Prerogative that gives more? Nay I will be bold to say it, that except the Lawes were

were better observed, the Prerogative of a Religious Prince hath manifold lesse perils then the Letter of the Law hath. Now my Lord, for the second & third, to wit, for the appointing of Treasurers, and removing of Councillors. our Kings have evermore laught them to scorn that have prest either of these, & after the Parliament dissolved, took the money of the Treasurers of the Parliament and recalled & restored the Officers discharged, or else they have been contented, that some such persons should be removed at the request of the whole Kingdom, which they themselves out of their Noble natures, would not seem willing to remove.

C O U N S. Well Sir, Would you notwithstanding all these arguments advise his Majesty to call a Parliament?

I u s r. It belongs to your Lordships who enjoy the Kings favour, & are chosen for your able wisdom to advise the K. It were a strange boldness in a poor and private person, to advise Kings, attended with so understanding a Councell. But be like your Lordships have conceived some other way, how money may be gotten otherwise. If any trouble should happen,

your Lordship knows, that then there were nothing so dangerous for a K. as to be without money : A Parliament cannot assemble in haste, but present dangers require hasty remedies. It will be no time then to discontent the subjects by using any unordinary wayes.

COUNS. Well Sir, all this notwithstanding we dare not advise the King to call a Parliament, for if it should succeed ill, we that advise, should fall into the Kings disgrace. And if the King be driven into any extremity, we can say to the King that because we found it extremely displeasing to his Majesty to hear of a Parliament, we thought it no good manners to make such a motion.

IUST. My Lord, to the first let me tell you, that there was never any just Prince that hath taken any advantage of the successe of Councils, which have been founded on reason, To fear that, were to fear the losse of the bell, more then the losse of the steeple, and were also the way to beat all men from the studies of the Kings service. But for the second, where you say you can excuse your selves upon the Kings own protesting against a Parliament, the King upon better consideration may encounter that fineness of yours.

COUNS.

COUNS. How I pray you?

IUST. Even by declaring himself to be indifferent, by calling your Lordships together, and by delivering unto you that he heares how his loving subjects in generall are willing to supply him, if it please him to call a Parliament, for that was the common answer to all the Sheriffs in England, when the late benevolence was commanded. In which respect, and because you come short in all your projects, & because it is a thing most dangerous for a King to be without treasure, he requires such of you, as either mislike, or rather fear a Parliament, to set down your reasons in writing, wai'ta you either mislike, or feared it. And such as will and desire it, to set down answers to your objections: And so shall the King prevent the calling or not calling on his Majesty, as some of your great Counsellors have done in many other things, shrinking up their shoulders, and saying, the K. will have it so.

COUNS. Well Sir, it grows late, & I will bid you farewell, onely you shall take well with you this advice of mine, that in all that you have said against our greatest, those men in the end shall be your Iudges in their own cause, you
that

that trouble your self with reformation, are like to be well rewarded hereof you may assure your self, that we will never allow of any invention how profitable soever, unlesse it proceed, or seem to proceed from our selves.

Ius r. If then my Lord, we may presume to say that Princes may be unhappy in any thing, certainly they are unhappy in nothing more then in suffering themselves to be so inclosed. Again, if we may believe *Pliny*, who tells us, that 'tis an ill signe of prosperity in any kingdome or state, where such as deserve well, find no other recompence then the contentment of their own consciences, a farre worse signe is it where the justly accused shall take revenge of the just accuser. But my good Lord, there is this hope remaining, that seeing he hath been abused by them he trusted most, he will not for the future dishonour of his judgement (so well informed by his own experience) as to expose such of his vassals as have had no other motives to serve him, then simply the love of his person and his estate) to their revenge, who have onely been moved by the love of their own fortunes, and their glory.

COUNS. But good Sir, the King hath not been deceived by all. **Ius r.**

I u s t. No my Lord, neither have all been trusted, neither doth the world accuse all, but believe, that there be among your Lordships very just and worthy men, as well of the Nobility as others, but those though most honoured in the Commonwealth, yet have not been most employed: Your Lordship knows it well enough, that 1. 2. 3. or 4. of your Lordships have though your hands strong enough to bear up alone the weightiest affairs in the Commonwealth, and strong enough, all the Land have found them to beat down whom they pleased.

C o u n s. I understand you, but how shall it appear that they have onely sought themselves.

I u s t. There needs no perspective glasse to discern it, for neither in the treaties of Peace and Warre, in matters of Revenue, and matters of Trade, any thing hath happened either of love or of judgement. No my Lord, there is not any one action of theirs eminent, great or small, the greatnesse of themselves onely excepted.

C o. It is all one, your Papers can neither answer nor reply, we can. Besides you tell the King no news in delivering these Complaints, for he knows as much as can be told him.

I u s t.

Iust. For the first my Lord, whereas he hath once the reasons of things delivered him, your Lordships shall need to be well advised, in their answers there is no sophistry will serve the turn, where the Iudge, & the understanding are both supreme. For the second, to say that his Majesty knows, and cares not, that my Lord were but to despaire all his faithfull Subjects. But by your favour my Lord, we see it is contrary, we find now that there is no such singular power as there hath been, Iustice is described with a Balance in her Hand, holding it even, and it hangs as even now as ever it did in any Kings dayes, for singular authority begets but generall oppression.

Couns. Howsoever it be, thats nothing to you, that gave no interest in the Kings favour, nor perchance in his opinion, and concerning such a one, the misliking, or but misconceiving of any one hard word, phrase, or sentence, will give argument to the King either to condemne or reject the whole discourse. And howsoever his Majesty may neglect your informations, you may be sure that others (at whom you point will not neglect their revenges, you will therefore confesse it (when it is too late) that you are exceeding sorry that

that you have not followed my advise. Remember Cardinall Woolsey, who lost all men for the Kings service, & when their malice (whom he grieved) had out-lived the Kings affection; you know what became of him as well as I.

I u s r. Yea my Lord, I know it well, that malice hath a longer life, than either love or thankfulness hath, for as we alwaies take more care to put off pain, than to enjoy pleasure, because the one hath no intermission, & with the other we are often satisfied, so it is in the smart of injury & the memory of good turns. *Wrongs are written in marble: Benefits are (sometimes) acknowledged, rarely requited.* But my Lord, we shall do the K. great wrong, to judge him by common rules, or ordinary examples, for seeing his Majesty hath greatly enriched and advanced those that have but pretended his service, no man needs to doubt of his goodnesse towards those that shall performe any thing worthy reward. Nay, the not taking knowledge of those of his own vassals that have done him wrong, is more to be lamented, than the relinquishing of those that do him right, is to be suspected. I am therefore, my good Lo: held to my resolution by these 2, besides the former. The 1, that God would never have blest him

him with so many years, and in so many actions, you in all his actions, had he paid his honest servants with evil for good. The 2d. where your Lordship tells me, that I will be sorry for not following your advice, I pray your Lordship to believe, that I am no way subject to the common sorrowing of worldly men, this Maxim of Plato bring true, *Dolors omnes ex amore animi et ex corpore nascuntur.* But for my body, my mind values it at nothing.

C O U R T. What is it then you hope for or seek?

I u s T. Neither riches, nor honour, or thanks, but I only seek to satisfy his Majesty (which I would have been glad to have done in matters of more importance) that I have lived and will die an honest man.

FINIS.

The Authors Epitaph, made by himself.

Enfus'd his Time, which takes in vast
Out Youth, and Joy's, and all we have,
And pays us but with age and dust,
Which in the dark and silent grave,
When we have wand'ring all our eyes,
Shuts up the story of our days:
Died from which Sin and Guilt, or Doubt,
The Lord shall raise me up I trust.

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